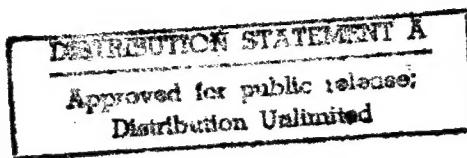


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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9 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMUNIST CONCEPTS OF NATIONALISM, PATRIOTISM CLARIFIED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 11, 5 Oct 83 pp 47-58

/Article by V. V. Shelyag, Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow/

/Text/ The CPSU has decided to further improve the effectiveness of all aspects of educational work. Special emphasis is being placed on the formulation of such qualities of the conscience of the Soviet people as patriotism and socialist internationalism. The report on the activities of the CPSU Central Committee submitted to the 26th CPSU Congress stated that "educating the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and enhance pride in being a member of the only great socialist country is a sacred duty of the party."

Patriotic and internationalist education of the working people is considered by the party as a significant task of its entire work, of the work of state and social organizations engaged in ideological education. Y. V. Andropov stated: "Educating the Soviet people for mutual respect and friendship among all nations and nationalities of our country, for love for their great Soviet motherland, for internationalism and solidarity with the working people of other countries is a permanent and, because of its importance, never-ending task."

The celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR which became an event of international significant persuasively showed that one of the most important resources for speedy development of the Soviet republics from their former backwardness to the great strength of the Soviet state today, equipped with a high level of culture and the ever-growing well-being of the working people, was Leninist friendship among nations and their fraternal unity.

The party continues to emphasize the need for further unity of nations and nationalities, for the further strengthening of the patriotic and internationalist conscience of the Soviet people as a reliable prerequisite for a successful solution of the great building tasks our country is facing.

The need for further improvement of patriotic and internationalist education is also dictated by the international situation which has recently worsened, by the danger of a world war which has appeared on the horizon because of the imperialists. In a situation where the imperialists are making military

threats, it is imperative to further strengthen the unity and togetherness of the Soviet people, to strengthen the economic, political and military ability of the state, to further strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, and to activate all peace-loving forces. Great significant in fulfilling this task belongs to the measures aiming at improving patriotic and internationalist education of the working people, strengthening their readiness to contribute with all their power to the strengthening of our state and its economic and military might, and educating the people to be ready to defend our country and its socialist system with weapons in their hands.

Unity and Mutual Link Between Soviet Patriotism and Socialist Internationalism

Patriotism as a social phenomenon and as a characteristic of the conscience of the masses is usually investigated in conjunction with internationalism. Occasionally, patriotism is identified with national patriotism in such a way as to make it possible to reduce it to mere nationalism. This terminological confusion runs counter to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the National question and to the reality and logical clarity given to this term.

The terms "patriotic" and "national," "country" and "nation," are not the same. Even less justified is the equation of the term "patriotism" to "nationalism." Identification with a country or with patriotism is not the same as belonging to a certain nation or at least to the nation which has a numerical majority in a given country. To differentiate between the adjective "national" and "patriotic" and the nouns "patriotism" and "nationalism" is very important because in the past nationalism often presented itself under a disguise of patriotism. Thus the opportunistic leaders of the Second International, together with the Russian Mensheviks, tried on the eve of World War I to disguise their own retreat from their proletarian interests in an open alliance with the domestic bourgeoisie on the basis of nationalism by using patriotic slogans. Even today, a slogan of patriotism is often used to disguise nationalistic counterrevolutions, V. I. Lenin warned against the fact that the entire "counterrevolution is wrapped in nationalistic colors." To differentiate between "nationalistic" and "patriotic," to emphasize the impossibility of reducing patriotism to mere nationalism has taken upon itself not only methodological significance but also practical political significance.

V. I. Lenin wrote that "patriotism is one of the deepest feelings which have become rooted in the people over the centuries and millennia in the existence of separate countries." During the initial and still undeveloped form, patriotism existed long before the advent of modern nations. The forming of nations paralleled the beginnings and strengthening of capitalist socioeconomic formation. Nations as the social base of nationalism appeared on the scene much later than the individually distinct countries, much later than the fertile soil for formulating the feelings of patriotism.

In the struggle against feudalism and for achieving national independence, the bourgeoisie presents itself as a patriotic force, the ideas of patriotism get closer to the ideas of nationalism, which under certain conditions can play a progressive role. However, after the bourgeoisie had acquired political and economic power in society, it became a reactionary force in the course of the

historical development of national states. In order to achieve its own class goals it presents its egoistic interests as national interests and tries to confuse patriotism with nationalism.

The present imperialistic bourgeoisie is a totally reactionary and antipeople force. Its ideological banner is nationalism in its extreme manifestations, such as chauvinism and racism, which the advocates of imperialism try to present as patriotic ideas. In the hands of the present imperialist bourgeoisie, nationalism presented as patriotism is thus becoming an ideological tool for enslaving and suppressing national minorities and a justification of aggressive foreign policy and aggressive wars. The dialectics of the transformation of bourgeois patriotism into extreme nationalism can be observed in the history of every imperialist country. Especially characteristic is this metamorphosis of American imperialism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie of this country, trying to become the leader of the "free world," boasting its democratic and patriotic traditions, has transformed itself into the most reactionary force of our time. Here, the members of the Ku Klux Klan who lynch the blacks and other "colored" people with impunity are considered patriots while people who oppose the arms race and nuclear catastrophe are accused of not being patriotic, of "agents of Moscow." The U.S. Government has declared the entire globe as the sphere of its national interests. The U.S. President arrogates upon himself a right to use the American armed forces in any place on the globe where, in his opinion, U.S. interests are threatened by nations fighting for their freedom and independence.

Only socialism is able to purify patriotism of its nationalistic connections and strengthen the real patriotism of the working people which is inseparably linked with internationalism.

The founders of the revolutionary teaching of the working class paid great attention to the problem of the unity and mutual relationship between patriotism and internationalism. The basic justification of the indivisible unity between patriotism and internationalism appears in Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto" which includes the famous phrase that "Workers have no fatherland." The assertions of the enemies of Marxism according to which for Marx and Engels a fatherland had no meaning are unsubstantiated. We can find in Marx and Engels' works numerous proofs that they emphasized the significance of social, economic, and cultural conditions in each country for the successful struggle of the working class. In his "Critique of the Gotha Program" Karl Marx extensively explains the connection between nationalist and internationalist aspects in the revolutionary struggle of the working class. "It is self-evident that the working class, in order to be able to fight, must be organized in its own country as a class and that the most immediate battlefield for its struggle is its own country." V. I. Lenin decisively rejected an absurd assertion according to which the proletariat is not interested in the fate of its own country. "The fatherland, i.e., a certain political, cultural and social environment, is the most powerful agent in the class struggle of the proletariat." V. I. Lenin explained that Marx and Engels' idea that "the proletariat has no fatherland" means that the working class can triumph in its own country only through a hard and uncompromising class struggle with the bourgeoisie. Because its struggle

against the bourgeoisie is an international struggle, the achievement of the task to conquer a country for the working class is an internationalist task. Only if the proletariat in each country leans on proletarian solidarity, on the unity and support of the proletariat in other countries can it succeed in overthrowing the rule of exploiters, in strengthening the republic of the working people, i.e., a new and socialist country, a country of the working class and all working people.

The truth of these ideas of the founders of Marxism-Leninism was fully confirmed by the revolutionary practice of the Russian Communist Party during its victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution. V. I. Lenin decisively fought the attempts of social democrats in Europe and in Russia to disguise their betrayal of the interests of the working class by slogans of patriotism. He criticized the "defensive policy" in the imperialist war as a disgraceful cooperation with the bourgeoisie aiming against the revolutionary interests of the proletariat. However, he also decisively defended the fatherland immediately after the victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution when the Russian workers won their own socialist country. He wrote: "Today, since 25 October 1917, we are the defenders; from this day on we are in favor of defending our country." V. I. Lenin pinpointed quite accurately the moment of the transformation of Russia, a Russia which was a prison of nations, which was no fatherland either for the working class or for a number of nations and nationalities, into a socialist Russia, into a country of workers and peasants. He called on them to fight for the "socialist country, for socialism as a country, for a Soviet Republic as part of the international army of socialism." The Leninist idea of socialism as a country is a very realistic expression of the idea of unity between the patriotic and the internationalist.

The history of building a new society in our country. Of a heroic struggle to defend the achievements of socialism, for safeguarding the socialist fatherland is also a history of forming a new, socialist patriotism which is inseparably linked to internationalism. The struggle against the interventionists and the Civil War as the first war on behalf of a socialist country were not only a test of the new internationalism patriotism but also a good school for its formation. The working people of our country were firmly convinced that by defending their country and their Soviet power they were also contributing to the freedom of all nations, all enslaved and oppressed people in the world. The feeling of the unity between the defense of country and the international liberation struggle was emphasized by the fact that our revolution received the support of the proletariat of all countries. A movement whose slogan was "Hands off Soviet Russia" was a mass form of solidarity of the working people of Europe and the United States with the Soviet working class and peasantry. Thousands of internationalist soldiers fought in the ranks of the Red Army. "One can truly say that the October Victory is also a victory of the international brotherhood of the working people, a victory of proletarian internationalism. In the ranks of the Red Army there were fighting side by side with the sons of our nations Hungarians and Poles, Serbs and Croats, Czechs and Slovaks, Bulgarians and Austrians, Germans and Finns, Romanians and Mongolians, Koreans and Chinese, and members of many other nationalities. This was a fighting international of revolutionaries."

The heroic building activity by the nations of all republics in our country in laying down the foundations of socialism was a mass school to educate millions in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. The nations of the Soviet Union had come, on the basis of their own experience, to the conclusion that unity in a cohesive alliance enhances their power and accelerates socioeconomic progress.

The new socialist patriotism of the Soviet people was particularly characteristic during the years of the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet people were fighting for the country they loved. At the same time, they were also fighting for the victory of progress, freedom and socialist ideas. The working people of the entire world followed with hope and faith this heroic struggle which for 4 years the Soviet people waged on the battlefield of the Great Patriotic War. The question posed in this struggle was not only whether our people would remain free, whether our state would remain independent and continue to cultivate and develop its own socialist path. This struggle was also decisive about social progress. Had the fascist barbarians won over the Soviet armed forces, then the whole of Europe and the entire world would have been condemned to many years of a dark reaction and rule by fascist usurpers. The victory of the Soviet Army and Navy over Hitler's war machine and the subsequent defeat of Japanese militarism gave a mortal blow to the most aggressive forces of imperialism and created favorable prerequisites for the development of the world revolutionary process.

The Soviet people and the brave armed forces destroyed, under the leadership of the Communist Party, Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, successfully defended the freedom and independence of their socialist country, realized the great liberation mission, and honorably fulfilled their internationalist duty. During the Great Patriotic War, the internationalist patriotism of the Soviet people underwent further development and strengthening. The defense of the fatherland, its liberation and the liberation of other nations, and the defeat of the then most reactionary forces of imperialism were inseparable in the practice and in the minds of the people. After all, could anybody state that soldiers who had lost their lives in the battles of Kursk and Orel died only on behalf of their own fatherland and that those who had fallen while liberating Prague or during the liquidation of the fascist bunkers in Berlin lost their lives only on behalf of internationalism? During the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people lost 20 million of its sons and daughters, of whom 3 million died after crossing the state's borders into the territories of other European and Asian countries.

The activity of our nations during the reconstruction of our national economy destroyed during the war, the securing of further development of the economy and social structure of the country was a significant school of internationalism and patriotism. The building of a developed socialist society was the result of the fraternal, heroic and revolutionary work of transformation of the nations unified under the leadership of the CPSU. A new historical community of the people was formed--the Soviet people.

The formation of internationalist characteristics in the conscience of the Soviet people and their internationalist patriotism contributed and still

contributes to the practice of the new type of international relations which has been established among the countries of the socialist community. A joint effort of the nations of our country and nations of other socialist countries makes it possible for the new international community--the world socialist community--to successfully tackle the task of building a new society, the task of defending the freedom, independence and ideals of socialism. In the solution of these historic tasks we can see a growing socialist awareness of the nations in our countries, the strengthening of a new and historically higher type of patriotism, socialist patriotism, which is inseparably linked to internationalism.

The strengthening and improving of patriotic and internationalist characteristics in the consciousness of the Soviet people, their education in the spirit of loyalty to the communist ideals, love for their socialist fatherland and loyalty to their internationalist duty toward the working people and oppressed nations of the entire world--this is the main goal of patriotic and internationalist education. Its mission is to assist the working people of our country to become fully aware of the significance of the labor and effort of each and every member of our society for strengthening the economic and defense potential of our country and countries of the socialist community, the significance of further increasing the political influence of socialism on the fate of the entire world, its ability and readiness to defend peace in the world. Among the most important characteristics of Soviet patriotism are loyalty to the country, readiness to serve it with unlimited strength and ideas, and to defend it with weapons in hand. These qualities are epitomized by our entire life, by the entire system of ideological-political education.

Basis and Scope of Patriotic and Internationalist Education

The attitude of the people toward their own country, toward the members of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, toward citizens of other socialist countries, the understanding of the unity of interests of the working people of all countries in the world in the struggle against capitalist oppression and enslavement--these are the qualities of an individual which demonstrate his political character. Hence, patriotic and internationalist education appears as an aspect of political education, as its important part. At the same time, one can look at this type of education as a relatively independent trend of ideological-political education because it forms certain concrete qualities in the conscience of the Soviet people.

Educating the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism is closely related to ethical education because patriotism and internationalism are not only a conscience but also a feeling, a moral characteristic of the individual. Loyalty to the fatherland and to one's internationalist obligations is an important characteristic of a high level of individual morality. On the other hand, there is no worse moral bankruptcy than a betrayal of the interests of one's own country. Patriotic and internationalist characteristics of the world opinion of the Soviet people are a concrete form of their communist ideological involvement and political maturity. The ideas of patriotism and socialist internationalism one adopts are transformed into one's own conviction, a system of internal motives which guide the individual in his everyday activity to which he subordinates his will.

Patriotic and internationalist characteristics of the conscience are molded by the entire system of ideological-political work because Marxist-Leninist ideology is internationalist and patriotic in its social and class substance. However, the above-mentioned characteristics of the conscience will be formed only if all levels and all forms of ideological-political work accept the conclusions related to the patriotic and internationalist obligations of each and every Soviet citizen.

Patriotic and internationalist education as a relatively independent trend of ideological-political work at the same time needs to have specific content and to apply the appropriate forms of work. The most important substantive element of such work is elaboration of the patriotic and internationalist significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a victory of socialism in our country. The October Revolution was a great patriotic action of the Russian proletariat because it saved the country from being plundered and divided by the forces of world imperialism. At the same time, it was also a great internationalist act of the Russian proletariat who showed other nations the way to happiness and a just life and who created a base for a worldwide proletarian revolution. That our people have achieved all of this during the 60-year existence of the USSR is a subject of tremendous pride for the Soviet people. To educate the Soviet people and especially young people in the spirit of this pride means to strengthen the understanding of their own responsibility for a good name, the glory and development of their country, for its future.

The explanation of the foundations of the Leninist theory of nations and nationality relations, the experience of the socialist solution of the nationality question and nationality policy of the CPSU is part of the substance of patriotic and internationalist education. Y. V. Andropov stated: "The real qualitative changes which have taken place in nationality relations in the past 60 years show that the nationality question in the form we have inherited from the former exploitative regime has been successfully, definitely and irrevocably solved."

A significant task of our educational work is to persuasively demonstrate the success in the area of nationality relations, in the great economic and spiritual development of all union and autonomous republics, in the achievements of all nations and nationalities which form a fraternal family of the Soviet nationalities and which are united around the Communist Party. At the same time, however, it is necessary to point to real problems which still exist in this respect and to find ways to solve these problems. At the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated: "We do not approve of the tendencies for artificial elimination of national characteristics; at the same time, we reject artificial exaggeration of these characteristics." The task of all party and Soviet organs and of all cadres is to actively implement the nationality policy of the party in individual places, to carry out unceasing educational work aiming at further strengthening friendship and unity among the nations of our country.

Patriotic and internationalist education contributes to the understanding of the experience of the internationalist assistance of the Soviet people to the people of other countries who are fighting for freedom and independence. Older generations still remember the assistance rendered to the heroic Spanish people

in their struggle against fascism. The heroic Vietnamese people drove out of their country an army of American interventionists armed with the most modern weapons and half a million strong. Of great significance in this struggle of the Vietnamese people was the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the heroism of Soviet seamen and air defense specialists. A significant source for molding the conscience of the working people is the practice of the new type of international relations which has been established among the countries of the socialist community. The basis of these relations is ideological unity, a principle of socialist internationalism, common goals, and comradely cooperation while fully respecting the interests, special characteristics and traditions of each country.

The community of the socialist countries faces a number of serious tasks. As stated by Y. V. Andropov, they are "for example, defense of our socialist achievements and values against the pressure of imperialism, a joint struggle for strengthening peace and the relaxation of tension; further improvement of political cooperation and, finally, a new impulse in the process of economic integration." The explanation of the historical significance of the fraternal unity of the socialist countries and the paths leading to the strengthening of this unity has resulted in strengthening the patriotic conscience of the working people, in their mobilization for further strengthening of the socialist community.

A significant device of patriotic and internationalist education is the uncovering of the attempts of present-day imperialism to slander the Soviet Union and its internationalist policy, to distort the international assistance of our people to other nations in their national liberation struggles, to implant seeds of discord among the countries of socialism. Our ideological rivals try to interpret socialist internationalism as interference by the Soviet Union in the affairs of other countries, as a limitation on their sovereignty and independence. The entire pattern of relations among our countries clearly contradicts these absurd distortions of the truth.

It is also necessary to uncover unjustified assertions of an opportunistic type by certain officials of the workers movement according to which proletarian internationalism is allegedly outdated. Such statements are not at all new. As much as 70 years ago, V. I. Lenin criticized the attempts of O. Bauer who wanted to declare internationalism as outdated and called it "refined nationalism." Proletarian internationalism and its highest form today-- socialist internationalism--exists and reliably serves the revolutionary struggle of the international working class regardless of all attempts to "abolish" it.

In organizing patriotic and internationalist education, it is necessary to keep in mind that the best school of socialist patriotism is the joint endeavor of workers and peasants, of the intelligentsia of all nations and nationalities of the USSR in creating material and spiritual conditions for communism. Elucidation of the all-union and international significance of the creative relation in the affairs of the working people in each republic, autonomous oblast and district; and strengthening the atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cooperation in multinational working collectives is an indispensable precondition for the success of ideological-political work. The party requires from its

leading workers to carry out on a daily basis the high principles of the Leninist nationality policy, to secure harmonious and fraternal relations among representatives of large and small nations and nationalities in both work and leisure time..

Education Toward Readiness to Defend One's Own Country--The Central Task of Patriotic and Internationalist Education

To love one's own socialist fatherland means to feel responsibility for the fate of the fatherland, to fully contribute to its development, the growth of its power, and a readiness to defend it with weapons in hand. The constitution of the Soviet Union legalized the popular character of military defense of the fatherland. It is a patriotic and internationalist duty of every young man and woman, regardless for which profession they are to be trained, to be morally and professionally ready to defend the fatherland and the cause of communism.

In educating the Soviet people to be ready to defend their own fertile country, socialism as a fatherland, an important role is given to the explanation of the character and sources of the present danger of war. This is especially valid today because the aggressiveness of U.S. foreign policy and the dangerous character of the military plans of the ruling American circles have become obvious. They must be neither overestimated nor underestimated.

The socially political and military reality of the present time and the balance of power in the world show that these extremes are not unjustified. It is necessary to calmly and argumentatively explain the character of the danger of war on the part of the United States and its imperialist allies as well as the potential of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact countries, and all peace-loving forces in the world to prevent the imperialist maniacs from starting a war.

Since 1945, the Soviet Union has presented over 100 peace initiatives and came out in the United Nations with a number of proposals calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of their use, and the liquidation of nuclear stockpiles. The United States either did not respond to these Soviet proposals or attempted to distort their meaning. The United States went on to produce constantly new generations of weapons. The military supremacy of imperialism never lasted too long, however. It was checked by measures adopted by the Soviet Union. In the mid-1970's, there was established an approximate parity between the strategic forces of the two countries, of the two military blocs--the aggressive NATO bloc and the defensive Warsaw Pact bloc. The military strategic parity achieved between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism has great significance; it is a factor which acts as a check on the aggressive attempts of imperialism.

Aggressive imperialist circles, primarily American imperialism, however, continue in their attempts to change the achieved strategic balance and to gain military supremacy to affect the course of world events in accordance with their own interests. This complicates the international situation and increases the danger of a new war. The political declaration of the Warsaw Pact countries adopted in Prague in January 1983 emphasized that the international situation is becoming more and more complicated, that there is a danger of war, especially nuclear war.

The USSR and its allied socialist countries counter the military line of imperialism by a consistent course oriented toward international security and detente. The Prague declaration contains a realistic alternative to descent into nuclear catastrophe. "We have enough goodwill and determination to proceed step by step toward strengthening European security and restoration of a good political climate. We have enough force to face the imperialist threat of war," Comrade Yuri Andropov emphasized in his answer to a question by RUDE PRAVO.

The ability to take a stand against an aggressive militaristic course of imperialism depends not only on the most modern weapons in the Soviet Army and the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries but also on the unceasing readiness of the nations of our countries, especially of young people, to defend their fatherland and the ideals of socialism. It is up to various social institutions of socialist society, primarily the schools, to guarantee such readiness. In teaching history, literature and, for all practical purposes the entire curriculum, patriotic and internationalist features of conscience are being formed.

Also, the sponsorship of military units of school and training center activities which have developed recently contributes to the preparation of our young people to defend the fatherland. The units of Soviet ground forces alone extended their sponsorship to more than 15,000 schools with dormitories; over 35,000 soldiers and sailors work as Pioneer leaders, and 22,000 are in charge of Circles of Young Friends of the Soviet Army.

The VLKSM has great responsibility for military-patriotic education of our young people. The Komsomol organizes mass youth marches to places commemorating the revolutionary, combat and labor glory of the Soviet people and the Communist Party. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR, some 60 million young people took part in these marches, retracing the steps of heroic deeds.

Within the framework of improving patriotic and internationalist education, we have opened over 140,000 museums, rooms and corners exhibiting items connected with the heroic deeds of the Soviet people during the war years as well as during peacetime; we unveiled 34,000 monuments; we have identified the formerly unknown names of 350,000 buried soldiers who had died in the fight for their fatherland. We are extensively introducing such forms of work as festive marches on the occasion of the start of military service, days and rallies of recruits, holidays of cities, villages and streets named after our heroes, movie festivals, contests for the best interpretation of military-patriotic songs, months and weeks of paramilitary mass work honoring the anniversaries of the Soviet Army and Navy and the victories over our enemy. Paramilitary-sport camps and recreational places for young people, organized by Komsomol organizations together with school organs and trade unions and with the help of military units, are also effectively used for patriotic and internationalist education. Tens of millions are members of DOSAAF which has at its disposal a developed network of training centers, a good material base for the preparation of future soldiers of the Soviet Army in a number of important fields of specialization.

All forms and means of military-patriotic education offer broad room for educational influence on our youth, for strengthening political, moral-psychological and physical qualities which are indispensable for exemplary fulfillment of

duties in defending the socialist fatherland. Important, however, is the fact that this work has been performed systematically in order to have the method used correspond to the concrete conditions of the existing situation and to the specific nature of the audience. In this work perhaps more than in any other, we cannot permit formalism.

The effectiveness of patriotic and internationalist education depends very much on the selection of propagandists who carry out this work, on their training, and on the assistance rendered to them. Hence, party organizations entrust patriotic and international education to those people who have authority, broad political judgment and great personal experience; they also care about the training and improvement of their specialization.

As in the whole of political education, so patriotic and internationalist education, too, is the concern of the entire party, an all-people task. It must be realized under the leadership and with the permanent participation of the party organs and organizations; it must be the center of their attention as a significant part of ideological work, one of the indispensable conditions for securing the safety of the socialist fatherland against a growing danger of war on the part of international imperialism.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NATO-WARSAW PACT MILITARY BALANCE ANALYZED

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[Article by Ivan Broz, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "Urgent Questions of the Balance and Ratio of Military Forces in the World"]

[Text] "The central place in the campaign for preventing war belongs to the task of stopping feverish armament and turning toward disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament," it is stated in the Political Declaration of the meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact Organization at the beginning of January 1983 in Prague. "The American programs of development and production of nuclear weapons, as well as the development of weapons based on the latest scientific knowledge and encompassing within them systems and means of waging combat operations in space and from space, which have been adopted recently and have already been implemented, are to multiply the destructive force of the military arsenal of the United States and Europe as well. The policy of boosting armaments that the United States and some of its allies are carrying out in order to attain military superiority will lead to the disruption of international stability...A new heightening of the arms race is contradictory to the maintenance of a military strategic balance at constantly lower levels, which the Warsaw pact member states, who have come out against military rivalry, are striving for."

With the new round of armaments, the known factor of peaceful relations--the basis of military equilibrium--would be seriously threatened. The facts from the everyday life and the entire direction of the foreign policy line of the USSR and its allies in the Warsaw Pact, stemming from the Program of Peace in the 1980's, which was adopted at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, unequivocally show that it is precisely the socialist countries that undauntingly fight for the maintenance of this balance and for maintaining it at constantly lower levels. This is logical, because only the most just and most humane social system, which does not have either material or political interest in militarism--which is socialism--is capable of that kind of policy, genuinely striving for the maintenance of peace, the deterring of nuclear catastrophe, and the reliable assurance of security for all nations.

The experiences of past years have convincingly demonstrated the importance of the objective limitation of the ratio of military forces between socialism and imperialism, between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact

and NATO, and especially of the Soviet and American strategic weapons potential. They have also affirmed that during the atomic age there exists no sensible alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, whereby that policy is realistic for the above-mentioned standing conditions precisely thanks to the existence of military equilibrium between East and West. Therefore, the socialist countries are striving to maintain this equilibrium and to reduce it.

On the other hand, the experiences of that period truthfully show that the most reactionary forces of imperialism have not given up their old goals of stopping the historically inevitable march of humanity toward socialism and communism. The main means for attaining this is a change in the balance of forces and the destruction of the military equilibrium that has come about. The ideologically propagandistic support of this central strategic goal shows up fully under the banner of falsification, manipulation, and shading the forces ratio in such a way that military superiority would appear on paper, and a reason would be given to "correct" this situation.

With full justification, Yu. V. Andropov, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, declared in Moscow in June 1983: "If world tensions are increased, there is only one reason for that--the policy and activity of the imperialist circles, above all the United States and its allies in NATO. In Washington, they do not wish to conclude a serious and just agreement, and they do not keep it a secret that they had decided on ruining the military equilibrium, on achieving superiority in the military area, and on assuring themselves a dominant position in the world. Efforts are made deliberately to deceive the people with the assertion that an increase in the number of American strategic weapons and the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe will lead to a return to the discussions to date. Such assertions have nothing in common with the truth."

It is precisely for this reason that a number of bourgeois military-political ideologues--and the responsible politicians of the imperialist states in general--are systematically whipping out individual partial factors from the process of evaluating the balance of forces. They ignore the fact that the decisive methodological guide of its proper limitation in one or the other constellation or situation has to be based on an analysis of the current class warfare. In other words, in its determination from a complex standpoint, count all forces, social groups, classes, political parties, and masses that exist.

Let us bring to mind V.I. Lenin, who emphasized in this respect that "...above all it will be necessary to look over the forces that are arrayed before you once more as precisely and seriously as possible." In doing so, of course, it is necessary to keep in mind "the mutual ratio of the real forces of all classes in all states, to evaluate, not the forces that are only on paper, but the forces that can really be used in a specific conflict."

Only from such a scientific aspect is it at all possible to determine reliably the forces ratio, which has its economic political, military, ideological, and moral factors and which are objective and subjective, whereas in some cases they are and in other cases, on the contrary, they are not numerically comparable.

To the assertions of some Western political and ideological figures that this forces ratio has currently reached a stage of "superiority" of the Soviet Union, which thus "threatens" the West, it is necessary to state clearly and simply: during the turn of the 1960's and 1970's, a relationship of approximate military equilibrium was created between the main representatives of both social systems differing politically and by class--namely, between the USSR and the United States, just as between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The term "approximately" here is understandably important because for the creation of potentials, especially in the strategic sphere, an entire array of common and particular features of development of one or the other social system has its own irreplaceable influence. In the answers to the questions of a TASS reporter by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, published on 31 July 1983 in the Soviet press, it was emphasized that "between the West and the East there exists approximate parity of military forces, which is the true reality, which three U.S. presidents acknowledged--Nixon, Ford, and Carter. Many eminent figures in the United States acknowledge this even today, after all."

What the concept of approximate equilibrium means specifically is evidenced also by the reality of the different historical developments of the weapons systems and the priorities that individual states gave to them. Let us remind ourselves that from the traditionally great emphasis that was always placed on aviation in the United States, for example, quantitatively and qualitatively unprecedented strategic air forces were developed, especially during the post-war period, whereas in the Soviet Union--in a country where for a large number of well-known geostrategic reasons, dependence was especially placed on ground forces--also powerful missile-nuclear systems launched from the ground were built. In its totality, however, the strategic potential of the USSR and of the United States are in a state of equilibrium. It would have been difficult then, in the opposite case, for qualified specialists of both countries, after painstaking and long-term work with the aid of the most modern scientific analysis methods and modern technical means, to arrive at the conclusion that the roughly 2,500 strategic weapons vehicles in the USSR and 2,300 vehicles in the United States form an approximate balance of forces. And why else would the top-level Soviet and American representatives in the 1970's have signed such important documents about the limitation of defensive and offensive strategic weapons as the SALT treaties.

In the above-mentioned interview with the Soviet TASS Agency, Marshal D. Ustinov cited the following relationships in it: "For 7 years, the USSR and the United States prepared the SALT-2 talks. Not only was every number checked out many times over, but every comma, too. And when they signed this agreement in 1979 in Vienna, the representatives of the USSR and the United States stated that parity exists in the strategic weapons area between the Soviet Union and the United States. This has continued up to today."

Recently, more than one American of unquestioned professional level of has expressed himself with characteristic truthfulness on the distorted view of the category of military ratio of forces--especially in nuclear-missile weapons. For example, on 5 June 1981, A. Haig, U.S. secretary of state at the time, acknowledged this equilibrium, when in meeting with American newsmen he stated

literally: "...in strategic nuclear forces, approximate parity continues to exist between our two countries." And this former general and supreme commander of NATO, reknown for his militarist and anti-Soviet thinking, obviously did not intend by his pronouncements on equilibrium to harm the United States.

Another example was provided by the New Year's poll of the periodical U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. Harold Brown, defense secretary from 1977 to 1981, declared in it, namely, that "...The United States has available matching military strength vis-a-vis the Soviet Union... In the strategic nuclear weapons area, an approximate equilibrium continues to be maintained bewteen the United States and the Soviet Union." Or the defense secretary from the 1973-1975 period, James Schlesinger, stated in this poll: "To say that the United States is in a worse, subordinate position in the military forces ratio to the USSR is to distort reality."

All in all, further competent instances and individual political and military figures of the United States, including some agencies of the Pentagon itself, speak and write in the same line of thinking. Surely worthy of attention is the following conclusion, which the American Defense Department made in its annual report for fiscal year 1982: "In spite of the generally distorted information that the Soviets are outpacing us militarily, both of our countries are roughly of the same strength. In many critical areas, the United States and our NATO allies are ahead, and in others, again, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact are leading. Although the era of American dominance is already long past, it has been replaced by parity, and never by American inferiority. Basically, the United States and the Soviet Union have the same strategic nuclear strength."

Gerard Smith, the leader of the American delegation at the Salt conferences in 1969-1972, was of similar mind. He publicly declared about the Reaganite disregard of the equilibrium between the USSR and the United States: "...The president's surprising declaration that currently the United States is in an inferior strategic situation has to be considered mystifying I believe that nearly all American experts (and certainly the Soviet experts as well) do not agree with this. What kind of sense does it make to be in equilibrium and to attempt to convince others that they are behind? Why, this kind of approach also had to be reflected at the conference table, and it is improbable that it would strengthen American negotiating strength. Until now, the conference could be held because it was based on the parity of both parties."

As far as the ratio of strategic forces is concerned, it is necessary to take into consideration all of the main circumstances, even that not only the weapons of the United States, but also those of Great Britain and France, are aimed at the territories of the Soviet Union and its allies; furthermore, that the Soviet Union still must constantly face nuclear threat from part of China as well, which obviously does not affect the United States to such a measure.

The fact that equilibrium exists in strategic weapons is attested to particularly by an official document on the numbers of these systems, which the current political representatives of the USSR and the United States signed in June 1979 in Vienna. The Stockholm Peace Pact SIPRI YEARBOOK 1980 (corroborated by later publications) published this Soviet-American memorandum and brings out the following data on the numbers of strategic weapons:

SYSTEM	U.S.	USSR
Launch pads of "ground-to-ground" intercontinental missiles ICBM	1,054	1,398
ICBM equipped with multiple nuclear warheads of the MIRV system	550	576
Submarine-launched missiles	656	950
Submarine-launched missiles equipped with MIRV systems	496	128
Heavy bombers	574	156

It is necessary to see that here areas in the strategic elements of balance of forces exist where the United States has constant superiority. It is agreed above all on the number of nuclear charges (warheads), which of course in their own way are those parameters which would decide in the final analysis the extent and effect of nuclear attack against another country.

The leading French military specialist, retired Admiral A. Sanguinetti, states that the United States has "9,300 nuclear warheads for the current status of strategic weapons as against 7,300 on the Soviet side." In the same way, the SIPRI YEARBOOK states that the United States has 9,681 warheads at its disposal, as against 8,781 warheads on the USSR side.

It can therefore be stated that the strategic potentials of both sides are balanced out, although the structure is different. For example, 70 percent of the warheads in the Soviet Union belong to strategic ground-launched guided missiles, and in the United States, about 20 percent are such. However, the United States has more than 80 percent of its warheads on sea-launched strategic guided missiles and in its Strategic Bomber Force, which is many times more than the number of warheads in the same components of Soviet strategic forces.

This reality is acknowledged according to the above-cited source and the annual report of the Pentagon for 1981-1982: "Whereas the Soviets have more intercontinental strategic missiles than we (the United States), our missiles again have 2,000 nuclear warheads more (9,000 American as against 7,000 Soviet)." In addition, American nuclear weapons are widely dispersed at intercontinental ballistic missile pads, on submarines, and in bombers. More than half of the American nuclear weapons are located outside the territory of the United States-- on strategic submarines. This is then in sharp contrast to the fact that about two-thirds of Soviet nuclear potential is concentrated in hard ground launching silos, since they are directly exposed to the risk of the atomic attack of the enemy.

As can be seen, within the framework of this approximate military balance there exist areas where the United States has clear advantages, which it seems the Reagan administration would want to change to a decisive aspect for the attainment of superiority. This is just the way that Reagan's "new approach" toward meeting with the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons, announced on 9 May 1983 in Eureka, Illinois, and its further variations were conceived.

They are above all the expression of the United States' orientation toward confrontation with the socialist countries, toward the "rearmament" of the United States in such a way as to gain military superiority over the USSR. The President of the United States wants to take out only those guided missiles that are located on ground launch pads from the total number of strategic guided missile vehicles.

Converting to a concrete qualitative indicator, this would mean approximately 50-60 percent of the warheads on Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles, and a limitation of a considerable part of the number of missiles. What we have here is a transparent maneuver. The Soviet Union would have to reduce the number of its ground-launched strategic guided missiles by more than half, and the United States would have to yield practically nothing. If this plan of the United States were to be realized, then the Soviet nuclear potential (insofar as the number of warheads is concerned) would be one-third that of the United States. In addition to this, the United States wishes to furnish its armed forces at various launching pads--as the Soviet newspaper PRAVDA of 15 July 1983 stated--with more than 12,000 cruise missiles.

President R. Reagan speaks, on the one hand, about the necessity for "evening out the balance," but at the same time he directs the development and production of new weapons for superiority--MX strategic missiles and a new generation of strategic weapons with the name midgetman ("dwarf"). Thus, with unbelievable arrogance, some people in Washington talk about the MX missile as an instrument of peace. Finally, the chief of the White House himself calls this missile the "Peacekeeper," or "Guardian of Peace." It is not surprising, therefore, that at the end of May of this year, an exclusive article appeared in the American weekly NEWSWEEK, with the headline "Progress at the Disarmament Conference." Irrespective of the reality that an untruthful soft-soaping of the public was involved here, it was clearly stated at the same time that the MX missile is to be the "negotiators' stick."

A further "stick" at that time for the 1990's is the above-mentioned Midgetman, which in contrast to the MX was designed as mobile, with still greater accuracy and the same range, and which is again the child of the American military-industrial complex. Thus, it is supposed to be only a further "stick" for conferences, and at the same time an instrument for the future superiority of the United States over the USSR, of imperialism over socialism.

Then perhaps it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that the positions that the United States administration is holding are not aimed at finding agreement, but so that conditions would be assured for the further attempts of Washington to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. The top-level Soviet representatives gave clear announcement many times during the course of the recent period that they are willing to agree on the freezing of Soviet and American strategic weapons while still within the framework of the initiation or during the course of meetings, in order for these weapons to be frozen with respect to quantity and in order to have their modernization as restricted as possible. And they likewise emphasized that there is also a need that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union develop the kind of activity that would lead to the violation of the stability of the strategic situation. Such a freeze, which is important in itself, would facilitate the road ahead, toward the radical reduction and limitation of strategic weapons.

Undoubtedly, medium range nuclear weapons have a very prominent place in the total ratio of military forces. Facts show that the main ground-launched air-borne type of nuclear weapons of the NATO countries, those that can reach targets on the territory of the Soviet Union from the territories of the Western European states, and from the oceans and seas adjacent to Europe, are the weapons with a 1,000 km range (naturally, not counting the strategic weapons of the United States), and the corresponding types of Soviet weapons of similar range located in the European USSR create an approximate equilibrium between NATO and the USSR in Europe in these types of weapons at the current time.

The NATO states can use 857 medium-range vehicles on the European continent. Of these weapons, over 700 (F-11 and F4 fighters, A-6 and A-7 carrier aircraft on aircraft carriers operating in the coastal waters of the seas and oceans of Europe), belong to the United States of America. In addition to this, the British potential consists of 64 strategic guided missiles. France has 14 vehicles (98 guided missiles and 44 bomber aircraft).

The Soviet Union has at its disposal 938 vehicles of similar types of weapons. In contrast to the publicized facts, Western propaganda attempts to prove that the USSR, with the aid of SS-20 guided missiles, holds an advantage in medium-range nuclear weapons. However, since the time when the Soviet Union began to replace its outmoded SS-4 and SS-5 guided missiles with the modernized types SS-20, the situation did not change. The replacement of one new guided missile wipes out one or two outmoded ones for good, and eliminates them together with the launch equipment. It is true that the SS-20 missile, in contrast to the outmoded ones, can carry three warheads. However, its total mass is lower than one earlier missile. The total number of vehicles was reduced thereby, and simultaneously the total mass of Soviet medium-range nuclear potential was lowered.

The leadership figures of the United States and NATO in all possible ways are frightening the public with Soviet medium-range missiles, but in doing so they keep quiet about American advanced nuclear weapons and bypass the British and French guided missile nuclear submarines. It is attempted to create the impression that they are nonexistent, and to compare the strengths of the sides only in ground-launched guided missiles, and to dig these up out of the total nuclear potential. It is also attempted to convince the Western European public of the necessity for Europe to "catch up in armament" with new American guided missiles.

It is therefore logical if, after this status of 1:1 vehicles of medium-range weapons in 1983, there will come about the deployment of new American medium-range missiles (108 Pershing-2 ballistic missiles in Germany, the above-mentioned cruise missiles in the amount of 160 in Great Britain, 112 in Italy, 48 in Belgium, and 48 in Holland), so that this relationship would immediately be changed to 1.5:1 in favor of the West, and at the same time there will come about an even greater difference in the number of nuclear charges, which even without this are more advantageous for the NATO states.

At the same time, the leading representatives of the North Atlantic Pact recently appear as though they have interest in limiting nuclear weapons in Europe. They count on the fact that world public opinion and American public opinion will be favorably inclined toward the foreign policy course of the United States, that they will succeed in silencing the peace movement especially in Europe, and 'cultivate' allies. The United States is attempting ahead of time to create an alibi for itself about the Geneva Conference with the USSR on the limitation of nuclear armament in Europe in order to be able to blame the other side for unwillingness to come to an agreement. It is literally attempting to remove the initiative in the proposing of peace and disarmament measures from the Soviet Union.

The question of attaining a mutually acceptable agreement, which would turn back a future unusually dangerous round of frenzied nuclear armament in Europe, has become the sensitive point of international relations during the current stage. The further stage of negotiations between the USSR and the United States on reducing the number of such weapons, which began on 6 February 1983, is decisive in this regard. What is concerned here is whether the United States will approach with all seriousness the new Soviet proposals that Yuriy Andropov submitted in his answers to the questions of the newspaper PRAVDA, or whether it will continue to exploit these negotiations only to cloak its plans for the deployment of Pershing missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe in order to attain military superiority.

The basis of the new Soviet proposals is totally clear. If the United States desists in the deployment of new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union would then reduce the number of its medium-range missiles in the European USSR to a level equal to the number of British and French missiles, and would eliminate all missiles by which the current status would be reduced. In this case, it would eliminate also a considerable number of the most modern missiles, known under the name of SS-20 in the West.

However, the situation is even more complicated in that the militaristic circles in NATO are attempting to accelerate and even expand numerically the quota of new American medium-range missiles prepared for Western Europe. For example, in the British Isles, the first nuclear warheads for guided missiles have already been deployed. Representatives of the U.S. Defense Department notified Congress that the first 13 Pershing-2 missiles are to be deployed in the town of Schwaebisch Gmuend, not far from Stuttgart, and brought into combat readiness by 15 December 1983. At the same time--as the Soviet PRAVDA notes--the representatives of the American Defense Department in the Capitol announced that they were getting ready to deploy not 108 Pershing-2's on FRG territory, as was set by the decision of the NATO council, but 156.

The plan of the military-political staffs of the United States and NATO is clear, therefore. Its intent is the gaining of superiority over the USSR, and thereby over socialism. It emerges roughly from these factors that destabilize overall equilibrium:

1. The system of forward-based weapons of the United States from the standpoint of the USSR and its allies means already today the obvious supplementation

of the strategic potential of the United States and its direct advancement up to the borders of the Warsaw Pact Countries. The Soviet Union does not have such a system in the vicinity of the American borders.

2. In the circumstance that 572 additional new American nuclear weapons will be deployed in Western Europe, the West will achieve more than a 2:1 advantage over the Warsaw Pact states. In the numbers of medium-range vehicles and in nuclear warheads, the NATO advantage will be even greater. The equilibrium in nuclear armament in Europe will thereby be significantly disturbed in favor of NATO. In addition to this, the equilibrium in the strategic forces of the USSR and the United States will be disturbed, since the new American guided missiles are strategic weapons with respect to the Soviet Union.

3. The deployment of the nuclear forces of the United States and further nuclear capabilities, whether or not they are members of NATO, is such that a situation of deep encompassment and even encirclement of the Soviet Union and its allies is created.

4. The plans of the United States and NATO simultaneously indicate that the medium-range missiles have a strategic mission, for they would be deployed as a "preventive strike" against Soviet strategic guided missiles and other vitally important targets in the Western regions of the USSR. In addition, it is necessary to be aware that the Pershing-2 guided missiles, which the United States intends to deploy on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, have a range of 2,500 km and high accuracy, and therefore can hit targets in the Soviet Union in 5 or 6 minutes after launch. The strategic situation is basically changed that way, and this is not only in Europe, but far beyond its borders. Therefore, the main aim of the United States, which intends to deploy its medium-range nuclear weapons in many European countries of NATO, is not by any means concern over European security, but an attempt in the case of attack on the Soviet Union to weaken the capacity for a retaliatory strike against United States territory.

A no less important component of the entire military forces ratio is the conventional, i.e., non-nuclear, area. Even here, many bourgeois specialists attempt to "prove" the overwhelming superiority of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. In this way it is attempted to point, out of context and isolatedly, to only individual elements of conventional armed forces or armaments, for example, to the number of divisions, tanks, aircraft, artillery, and other military equipment. The decisive criterion for the realistic conception and objective evaluation of the ratio of conventional forces, of course, is the comparison of their combat-ready components, therefore, only combat-ready divisions and their weapons systems--which means the forces without all of those that are not mobilized until later--are put into combat immediately.

In an interview for the Soviet NOVOSTI agency, Marshal Vasiliy Petrov, commander-in-chief of the Ground forces and deputy USSR minister of defense, said: "We have to declare with all seriousness that during the current period, there exist an approximate equilibrium between the armies of the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed with conventional weapons. The combat potential of the units of the NATO armed forces and those of the Warsaw Pact states is approximately equal. On the

European continent and the sea areas adjacent to it, the North Atlantic Pact has available sufficient balancing quotas of armed forces, numerous stores of conventional weapons, operational-tactical nuclear weapons, and a wide variety of means to send them to their targets, including also a large quantity of guided antimissile missiles and powerful fighter plane formations. In Europe, including Spain, there are 94 NATO divisions against 78 Warsaw Pact divisions. In this case, the numerical status of the developed American divisions reaches 16,000-20,000 men, whereas the divisions of the Warsaw Pact armies reaches a maximum of 11,000 men. If we take into advisement the differences in the armament of the divisions, then we find that in Europe there exists a mutual ratio of forces in favor of the NATO countries. It is generally known, likewise, that the total number of allied armed forces of the North Atlantic Pact reaches 3 million men in Europe, and altogether, the strengths of all troops in the armies of the pact is 5 million men."

To the argument arriving from the West that the Soviet Union has an overall (meaning in Europe and Asia altogether) greater number of divisions, it is necessary to state that this does not involve any of the horrendous numbers that they take favor in using in the NATO states. The Soviet Union has the strength level of its troops for simply understandable reasons. For example, the geographic, strategic, and class political area of the USSR unconditionally necessitates effecting an equilibrium of forces not only in Europe, but also in other areas adjacent to its borders. The total length of the USSR state borders amounts approximately to 67,000 km, of which over 20,000 km is the land border measurement. It is necessary to protect it, both in the west against the threat of the North Atlantic Pact, and in the east and the south in view of the existence of American military bases. Furthermore, it is necessary to see that the Soviet Army maintains the security of a territory with an area of over 22 million km², whereas NATO (in Europe) maintains security for not quite 2.2 million km².

The ratio of conventional forces therefore in these complex relationships turns out to be completely different than the Western strategists consider it to be.

	NATO	Warsaw Pact	Ratio
Total regular troops	4,933,000	4,788,000	1.03:1
Total ground troops	2,713,000	2,613,000	1.04:1
Ground troops in Europe	2,123,000	1,669,000	1.27:1

Numerous data cited at the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces in Central Europe (status as of 1 January 1980) confirm the existence of approximate equilibrium in numbers of ground troops and support aircraft in central Europe (NATO has 991,000 and the Warsaw Pact states 979,000 persons).

And, in this respect, it is necessary to bring still another circumstance to light. In the West, it is frequently asserted that the USSR and the Warsaw Pact have an "overwhelming superiority," especially in tanks. The leading figures of the United States and NATO calculate on their part, however, only those tanks that are subordinate to the Supreme Headquarters of the joint forces of the NATO states in Europe (13,000). In reality, however, the troops of the

NATO member states have over 17,000 tanks. In addition to that, there are 1,000 American tanks and 6,500 tanks of the Western European member states of the North Atlantic Pact stored in depots located in Europe. The total number therefore amounts to over 25,000.

And what is the situation with naval forces? The Pentagon propagandists assert that the Soviet Union allegedly threatens "the traditional naval superiority of the West." The American president even announced that a specific "window of vulnerability" has been opened up for the United States on the sea. In this respect, Washington considers it to be a "serious threat" to the interests of the West that the Soviet Navy recently gained the aircraft carriers "Kiev" and "Minsk", and the atomic missile cruiser "Kirov" for its use. In this case, the American Navy has not 2, but 14 aircraft carriers and 9 nuclear missile cruisers. In just the 1960's and 1970's, the United States of America put into successive operation multipurpose aircraft carriers with a displacement of 80,000-90,000 tons, each with 90 aircraft, and of these 3 were nuclear-powered. The construction of a fourth multipurpose nuclear aircraft carrier is undergoing completion.

It is clearly not surprising that in a number of official documents of the command of the American Navy, there are data and evaluations that bring up the concepts of Soviet naval threat. "It is undoubtedly true that the Warsaw Pact has more ships than NATO (1,800:1,500)," it is stated in the studies of the Washington institution SANE, "but a gross numerical comparison is incomplete because it does not contain information on the dimensions or capabilities of the fleet. The vessels of NATO are larger, with higher firepower, and with a greater number of sailors (801,000:502,000). In addition, the Soviet Navy has limited access to the seas and has available only a few ports." And the annual report of the U.S. Defense Department for the 1981-1982 period even states: "Our navy remains the best in the world."

And there still exists one category of non-nuclear forces with the help of which American imperialism is attempting to overturn the existing military equilibrium--space weapons. Intensive efforts with them have been under way in the United States for several years already, and are thereby proving that they are no longer the domain of only science fiction authors. Such concepts as the California Laser Center in San Juan Capistrano, the White Horse program in the Los Alamos Laboratories in New Mexico, the tests with lasers in the form of "projectiles" from aboard the giant KC 135 aircraft at the Kirtland Air Base, or the work of the military-industrial complex of Voight on the MHV antisatellite space missile are being supplied with increasing frequency both to knowledgeable specialists as well as to the public. This is attested to by a report dated 17 July 1983, stating that the laser system located in the Boeing 707 aircraft has already proved itself in the destruction in flight of five Sidewinder-type antiaircraft guided missiles. Everything attests to the fact that we are not talking about any kind of defensive weapon, as President Reagan asserted on 24 April of this year in his well-known "space" interview. We are talking about purely offensive systems, which are supposed to disarm the other side beforehand, both in space, where the communications satellites would be destroyed, and in the case of his defensive strike, when the intercontinental missiles launched in retaliation would be destroyed with laser beam by the aggressor.

It can be said, then, that we are talking about offensive weapons of a strategic nature. They are also designated as laser weapons or directed energy weapons. The laser beams can "fly" at a velocity of about 297,000 kilometers per second, which is nearly the speed of light, overtake moving objects, and both aim at them accurately and destroy them with an immense clap of energy. If an intercontinental missile moves over sea level or in the lower layers over the surface, let us say, at six times the speed of sound, which is about 7,200 km per hour, then it will fly hardly 3 meters from the instant when a laser is "launched" against it at a range of 1,600 kilometers. Of course, there is no need to comment on this technical parameter.

The views on the categories of military force ratio, especially on its strategic nuclear component, are therefore during the current period very obviously the center of attention, not only of the military policy of both systems differing in class policy, but of their ideological and propaganda encounters. The line of the Soviet Union, just as of the other socialist countries, is aimed at the lessening of tensions and the strengthening of international security. Likewise, their intent is to achieve the maintenance of equilibrium of military forces between the USSR and the United States, and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, on the basis of equality and like security. In this case, the direct proposition applies that the lower the levels of armed forces and armaments will be, the lower the risk of the possibility of outbreak of armed confrontation will be, and the greater the political confidence between states will grow.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FEWER HUNGARIANS APPLY TO UNIVERSITIES IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava UJ SZO in Hungarian 10 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by Maria Toelgyessy: "Where to After Highschool Graduation"]

[Text] During these weeks, thousands of students finishing highschools, professional highschools and highschool-level trade institutions training skilled workers are pondering where they should go and what they should do after graduating from school. This is no wonder since after the matura [comprehensive final] examination, there is a fork in the road: toward the university or some academy, or toward a job. And there is a large number of students wavering, searching for direction.

The prospective graduates already had a chance to learn of possibilities for further studies through their home room teachers and vocational counselors. We think, however, that it would be useful for us to report the number of available places in the following. Let us consider then how many would be allowed to start their studies in the 1984/85 school year at the universities and academies of Slovakia. Next year--similarly to the current one--the day divisions of higher educational institutions expect 12,000 first year students. The Slovak Technological Academy of Bratislava will admit 2,850 applicants; the faculty of architectural engineering will admit 680, architecture 60, mechanical engineering 895, electrical engineering 705, chemical engineering 510 youths. The Technological Academy of Kassa (Kosice) can accept 2,030 applicants; the faculty of mining engineering will admit 140, metallurgical engineering 110, mechanical engineering 885, electrical engineering 565, architectural engineering 370 highschool graduates.

At Komensky University, a total of 1,305 places will be available next year for first year students; the faculty of medicine can accept 160, the faculty extension at Martin 70, pharmacology 100, law school 110, humanities 240, natural sciences 195, mathematical and physical sciences 215, sports and physical education 125, the faculty of pedagogy at Trnava 90 students. Assuredly it is not without interest to note that the faculty of humanities has again announced a Hungarian-Slovak and a Hungarian-history double major with 10 applicants accepted to each major. In the first year class of Safarik University in Kassa, 700 youths can continue their studies. The numbers at the individual faculties are as follows: medicine 120, law school 70, humanities 75, natural sciences 140, the faculty of pedagogy at Presov 295.

The Pedagogical Academy of Nyitra can accept 245 students, 15 of whom can go to the Hungarian-language teacher training section. Let us mention here that this particular academy is also establishing some double majors where 10 youths each will be able to receive training for schools with instruction in the Hungarian language. These double majors are: Russian language--fine arts education, physics, the basics of technology. The Pedagogical Academy in Banska Bystrica is open to 295, the Veterinary Academy in Kassa to 180, the Academy of Traffic and Telecommunication in Zilina to 1,250, the Academy of Agrarian Sciences in Nyitra to 850, the Academy of Forestry and Wood Industry to 370 students for further studies. The Academy of Economics in Bratislava can secure places for a total of 1,175 youths while the Academy of Theater Arts and Musicology will admit 50 and the Academy of Fine Arts 25 applicants.

Now that the time of final decisions is getting near (those wishing to continue can submit their application to the principal of their school until 30 November), we think that it is important and useful to talk about these problems because earlier plans can still be modified and can be channeled into a realistic direction. Therefore, for every parent and youth, it is worth their while to ponder the chances for a vocational choice and further studies. This is particularly useful if the plans are still not firmly formed or certain individuals are still hesitating.

It is important that the schools with Hungarian language instruction continue to deal responsibly with these problems because it is no secret that the proportion of their students in institutions of higher education--especially in the technological academies--does not nearly correspond to the ethnic composition of the population. The imbalance is particularly striking at the faculties of mechanical and electrical engineering. Last school year, only 5.6 percent of the applicants was of Hungarian nationality. Although we have known it for long that our youths have the best chance for admission precisely to the technological academies and natural science faculties because subject knowledge and preparation are decisive there instead of a diversified knowledge of the language, as in the humanities. And the instructors of technical academies have repeatedly confirmed that the abilities of students from the Hungarian-language schools are not a bit lower than of the students from Slovak schools. In addition, these schools are accepting an increasing number of applicants every year; next school year, the Slovak institutions of higher education will be able to accept 55.2 percent of the applicants here, compared to 53.3 percent this year.

It is not our goal to scare away the highschool graduates, we merely want to urge them to carefully balance the realities, the objectively defined needs of our society and to see that the rapid rate of scientific and technical development, and the increasing economic advances also demand a change in the composition of individuals employed in the society. This again does not only mean that the problem of culture and of professional training is increasingly shifted to the foreground but it also presupposes an increase in the number of those with technical or natural scientific training.

Therefore, currently--and even more in the future--the proportion of youths participating in natural scientific and technical training must definitely increase.

Therefore, it would do some good if those who, for some reason, do not intend to continue their studies would also consider what was said here. The parents should not decline to educate their children, they should assume the sacrifice; and neither should the young ones hesitate to continue their studies because expenditures spent on gaining knowledge are returned sooner or later. Namely, a limited vision is never expedient.

2473

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HUNGARY

PARTY MEETINGS FACE PROBLEMS, URGE CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 83 p 5

[Reports on annual party meetings, in the "From Our Local Correspondents" column]

[Text] The party locals throughout the country are now holding their annual meetings. These important forums provide an opportunity not only for reporting, but also for looking ahead and planning policy. It can already be established that at many party meetings the more complicated tasks of social and economic policy have inspired a more thorough analysis of the situation than in the past, and also more criticism and self-criticism, inspite of the healthy rejoicing over the achieved results.

With the help of our megye correspondents, we are presenting reports on the annual party meetings in four settlements of the country.

Integrated Health Institution in Pecs

In Pecs, the three party locals of the Integrated Health Institution held a joint membership meeting. A report by Dr Nandor Bencze, the party secretary, analyzed this year's work and the tasks in the immediate future. The Integrated Health Institution comprises the specialized clinics, the networks of district and plant physicians, and the creches and day-nurseries. Thus its employees are working at nearly 90 different locations in the city. This dispersion also means that it is extremely difficult to hold joint programs. The forums of community life can nevertheless be established, as evidence by the considerable amount of voluntary work and by the fact that practically the entire collective did more than its fair share in readying the new specialized clinic.

Naturally, therapy was the main topic at the membership meeting. It was emphasized that both proper prevention and effective therapy served to promote public satisfaction and economic efficiency. As a part of reporting by the managers, this year the director of the Institute for the Care of Mother and Child outlined the work of the specialized team that he heads, and the reorganizations geared to the demographic changes. Health care at the plants, occupational rehabilitation, and the material and personnel conditions at the radio-graphic clinic were discussed. Pecs is a city with a medical university, and

therefore the integration cannot mean a sharp dividing line between the clinics and the other institutions that provide in-patient care. The promising signs of cooperation are multiplying year by year. The agreements are based on sharing doctors, with the specialists regularly spending one day at the clinic and the next day at the hospital. However, the sphere of cooperation must be broadened further, to give also health-care workers at the plants a more thorough insight into the work at the hospital.

Another essential organizational element of health care is the necessary centralization. In some instances centralization has also caused a storm of protests, because the specialized clinics are farther from home. But experience shows that the complaints soon cease when the patients realize that the level of health care is much higher, better organized, and the examinations more thorough.

Fortunately, the party organization did not have to discuss ethical matters this year. However, several speakers called attention to the fact that here and there the tone of voice was objectionable. More understanding and patience are necessary, although this was being hampered sometimes by overcrowding. Many of the speakers pointed out that there were too few young party members. Until they pass their examinations as medical specialists, young doctors work as central-staff assistants at the clinics and hospitals. The party organization is of the opinion that suitable future young colleagues should mature into party members at their designated workplaces. Finally, a piece of good news was announced: the UHF network in Pecs and its vicinity is being developed as of the beginning of next year. This will make for easier and better-organized duty at night and on holidays.

Problems of the Technologists and Rate Setters at the Diosgyor Machine Factory

The proportion of party members at the Diosgyor Machine Factory is very high: 26 percent. Which means that the 2160 party members in the 71 party locals play a decisive role in shaping the machine factory's economic and political life. The annual membership meeting of the 145 members in the four party locals within the chief technologist's department, and the party leadership's report presented by party secretary Otto Erki were imbued with a sense of the great responsibility that this role implies.

As at most places, also here attention was focused on analyzing and organizing the tasks that have to be fulfilled under difficult conditions. On a prorated basis, the machine factory has fulfilled its plan and has dynamically increased its nonruble-denominated export. Zoltan Samu, the chief technologist, spoke in the debate. He summed up the gist of the situation as follows: "Few large enterprises are in the same situation as the Diosgyor Machine Factory, supplied with adequate manpower, instead of having to cope with a manpower shortage. We could produce 200 million forints' worth more than what we have undertaken to produce, and the workers of our factory will have a secure livelihood also next year. Thus the question is not what we should do, but how we can meet the requirements that are becoming increasingly stricter."

Several other speakers continued this line of thought and pointed out that the engineers, technologists and technicians must not become complacent in the

favorable situation. Their task is to provide the technologies for production, the indispensable blueprints and specifications, the appropriate tools, and certain parts of the production equipment. As Mrs Jozsef Beke said, they held the key to technological progress, and if the rate of progress was not fast enough, the reasons had to be investigated with proper self-criticism. It should be regarded as a warning that technological workers were not appreciated adequately. As the speaker pointed out, the improvement of their financial and moral appreciation must be expected not from somewhere at the top, but from the management of the enterprise and from public opinion.

Jozsef Toth, former secretary of the party leadership, conveyed the situation as follows: "Understandably, the people would like to take home more pay today than they did yesterday. But not everyone wants to work more and better. At many workplaces there is growing resentment toward the rate setters. There are places it is advisable for them to enter only in crash helmets. Therefore the party locals should give the Communists and nonpartisans working in this area more support."

Jozsef Majlath, a member of the party leadership, and also other speakers noted the striking wasteful use of tools, at the same time that programs were being implemented to conserve energy and save materials. Without the least sense of guilt, workers were requesting the stockroom to replace valuable tools that had worn out ahead of schedule due to improper use, and which often could be obtained only through import from capitalist countries. It was important to alter this situation especially now when the conditions of procurement were worsening.

In such cases the situation cannot be changed without arguments and conflicts. But if the persons concerned are to willingly engage in such arguments and conflicts, they need more appreciation and support, besides upgrading their professional knowledge. To this end, of course, they themselves can do the most.

Village Development Through Political Work

In Csaszartoltes the report presented by Istvan Marin, secretary to the party leadership, reflected the Communists' sense of responsibility for their settlement and its residents. Here everyone is able to find work, the families have a suitable living standard, and the child-care institutions are not overcrowded. Primarily the Kossuth Agricultural Cooperative and the local general industrial cooperative provided the good earnings, by constantly modernizing their product mix, expanding their export, and supporting their members' entrepreneurship. During the year, the political organs frequently considered the public complaints and proposals that were presented at village meetings and when council members briefed their constituents.

The resolutions that the party locals and the party leadership adopted served primarily to strengthen the village's ability to retain its residents. This was how, among other things, the construction of the new health center and of the Vas Farm access road began, or the allocation of building lots on Utro Street. In addition, a feasibility study is being prepared of supplying the village with natural gas, and garbage removal has been institutionalized. On the other hand, the start of construction on the new post office building, the

National Savings Bank office building and ABC supermarket buildings is being urged more and more frequently. The supermarket would solve a problem of long standing in the village. At present local trade lacks the necessary floorspace and warehouse space, including refrigerated storage space. It has been pointed out moreover, that FUSZERT [State Grocery Retail Enterprise] is being stocked irregularly, and delivery of the orders is often delayed 3 or 4 days.

The report recalled also the cooperation among the political, state and social organizations. The party leadership greatly appreciates particularly the activity of the Patriotic People's Front. For example, the organization of voluntary work, of the dissemination of knowledge about the country's history and geography, of the voluntary blood donors, and of aiding the young university and college graduates who are beginning their careers. The delegates of the intellectuals, convened earlier on the initiative of the party leadership, announced their desire to do as much as possible for the prosperity of Csaszartoltes.

The political leaders of the village were reluctant to interfere in the work of the public administration organs. However, the village council had to implement several of the party resolutions that were adopted under pressure from local residents. These resolutions called, among other things, for the more efficient integration of health care, for modernizing the heating of public buildings, and (in view of the national minority living in Csaszartoltes) for the wider use of bilingual signs. Concluding his report, Istvan Marin urged the party members to work with the same dedication and diligence as this year, and then outlined the tasks awaiting the party members in 1984. The speakers in the debate that followed the report emphasized that no village development could be imagined without effective political work.

Good Work, Good Mood at Györ Knit Glove Factory

It would be an exaggeration to say that there are no problems whatsoever at the Györ Knit Glove Factory. The collective also at this outstandingly operating enterprise is worried about the worsening international situation and the harsh external economic conditions. But it bears clearly in mind the difference between two things: what depends on the collective, and what is beyond the collective's control. In other words, it is only natural that the collective follows closely, interprets and comments on the developments in world politics. But the collective is focusing its sound and active attention primarily on its production tasks and duties as employees. Regardless of age and assignment, the workers of the enterprise form a collective with good morale.

Since we are speaking about annual membership meetings, the above introductory comments are in order because to a large extent it is the Communists who create and maintain the mood behind the economic results characteristic of the Györ Knit Glove Factory. And they do so with the everyday methods of party work that reflect diversity and interest, rather than become boring. That certain homey atmosphere, color and lively thinking were not lacking also in the leadership's report and the subsequent debate. What is it that primarily deserves attention in the party work of the Communists at the glove factory? The constant awareness and active monitoring of the long and complicated chain of organic relations that ranges from the worker's simple personal interest to the great interrelations of the economy, market and technology.

It is of course easier to produce knit gloves than to build diesel electric locomotives with silicon rectifiers. But who undertakes to knit gloves must contribute to production in his chosen field. A bad pair of gloves is just as unsalable in international trade as a bad diesel locomotive. But the gloves made in Györ do not belong among the goods that constitute idle inventory. Considering how finicky the customers are, it is to the credit of the glove factory's workers that their gloves are considered quality merchandise everywhere in Europe. Twelve million pairs of gloves are not peanuts; they represent the entire demand of several small countries. The knitwear wholesalers of Holland, Sweden, Austria, France, the FRG and Finland gladly buy the Györ factory's products because they can be displayed in the finest show windows. And it is the Communists' personal example, their human and professional behavior, and the party organization's human politics that provide the driving force and good morale for this excellent workmanship. Thus the sentence in the party leadership's report is very apt that, amidst its analysis of the many tasks necessary for the successful continuation of good workmanship, requests the party members to always bear in mind the mood of the broader family within the factory.

1014
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HUNGARY

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON PLACEMENT OFFICES, ROOMS TO LET

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 83 p 4

[Two reports from the "Discussed by the Council of Ministers" column]

[Text] Placement Offices Finding Jobs for Young People

The new placement system is operating successfully and is providing significant help to young people in finding jobs. The service character of placement has been reinforced, and the placement offices have expanded their activity. By listing the persons who are seeking jobs and by finding job opportunities, the offices are effectively aiding personnel management at the enterprises. Especially important is the offices' growing success in organizing the placement of young people just entering the labor market, and in finding summer and part-time jobs for students. Most offices establish close contact with the enterprises in their area. There is great interest among job seekers in the services that the placement offices have to offer. Nearly 100,000 job seekers turned to the placement offices last year, and the number of clients is expected to increase further this year.

In the larger cities--Budapest, Pecs, Szeged, Gyor, Kecskemet and Bekescsaba, for example--the placement offices have sought out the enterprises that are able to offer part-time work to university and college students. Such jobs involve mostly physical labor. The placement offices are continuing to seek opportunities for cooperation with the enterprises.

The placement offices throughout the country have been efficiently providing summer jobs for students. Most students found suitable blue-collar summer jobs with industrial enterprises. Last summer, nearly 90,000 students worked during their vacations.

Of the more than 230,000 young people who will be leaving grade and secondary schools this year, nearly 100,000 found jobs, and a large proportion of them had requested assistance from the placement offices in finding employment. On the whole there were more job opportunities than school-leavers, but the differences in distribution, by territory and trade, between available jobs and jobseekers make it difficult to place some of them. The placement offices have relieved the situation somewhat by finding additional job opportunities. Nearly half of the age group now entering the labor market are living in villages, where only a quarter of the vacancies are to be found. Close to 90

percent of the offered jobs are for physical labor, and approximately a third of the young people would prefer other work.

Rooms to Let to Tourists

The network that provides accomodations for paying guests is usually referred to as "our biggest hotel." And not without reason. During the main tourist season, 150,000 guests a day can find rooms offered for this purpose, through the travel bureaus, in private homes, apartments and cottages. For comparison, the commercial establishments--the hotels, inns, tourist hotels, holiday resorts, and camps--jointly are able to accomodate this many guests. This, too, proves that it would not be possible to accomodate the foreign and domestic tourists, without the rooms in this network. And since the majority of the foreign and domestic tourists increasingly prefer to spend their vacations in more modest accomodations costing less, in a homey and informal atmosphere, the network providing accomodations for paying guests must be expanded further.

It will hardly be necessary to offer proof that the network's expansion is the fastest and cheapest mode of development, requiring neither investment nor manpower. The regulations now in force, however, have not been able to ensure suitable organization and control of the letting of rooms. At present 45,000 families are accepting paying guests through the travel bureaus and are paying tax in accordance with the regulations. In addition, an estimated 40,000 families are letting rooms directly, but most of them are doing so against the law and are also "forgetting" to pay tax.

At its Thursday session, the Council of Ministers considered and approved new comprehensive regulations on letting private accomodations to tourists. According to the regulations that will become effective as of 1 January 1984, the use of private homes and cottages to accomodate tourists will be regarded uniformly as the accepting of paying guests. A new provision is that persons who let their rooms must obtain an operating license from the local council. But once they have obtained the license, they are free to choose whether to let their rooms through the travel bureaus or directly. The rates charged to paying guests will remain unregulated. At the guests' request, their landlord may also serve them breakfast, lunch and supper.

The new system of taxing income from letting rooms, and the tax rate are very advantageous. Instead of the present income tax, which is progressive by income brackets, as of the beginning of next year the tax per room will be from 100 to 400 forints per month, payable to the local council before the guest arrives. (There will continue to be no tax on guests who are relatives or children under 14. The landlord may put up nonrelatives as guests tax-free for a total of 14 nights a year. Those who provide accomodations only for such guests need not obtain an operating license.) The tax will provide revenue for the local council and thus will serve as an incentive to suitably oversee the letting of rooms, and to consistently and strictly fine any violations.

In response to the new regulations, the network of accomodations for paying guests is expected to expand considerably, and the increased supply will generate competition to let the rooms. For the tourists all this will mean a friendlier welcome, better service and, hopefully, lower prices.

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Opole Province Plenary Sessions

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 2, 3

[Text] A majority of Polish society, and this includes the residents of Opole, who through their honest work and dignified comportment coestablish a large portion of the well-being of our nation, influence the good name of the Polish People's Republic, and that of the Poles. This is especially evident in recent times, in the time of crisis, when it allows us to solve the crisis quickly and easily, and acquire the trust of other peoples and nations, and improve the difficult conditions of Polish families. There is, however, a group of citizens who disregard the law and the long-accepted principles of upright living, and cause enormous moral and material losses.

The phenomena concerning the violation of the law and social pathology demand decisive counteraction. The supervisory, prosecution, and administration of justice organs appointed to combat this phenomenon, having great success, cannot be isolated in this battle. They must be supported by the entire society. Evil in any form must be continually subjected to the moral pillory by all honest people. The working class must lead this fight.

Such was the predominant decision taken at yesterday's Opole PZPR Provincial Committee plenary sessions, which were devoted to the tasks of party echelons and organizations in improving public law and order, and in overcoming social pathology.

Participants in the deliberations, chaired by Eugeniusz Mroz, KW [Provincial Committee] first secretary, besides the committee members included the Opole central party leadership, party deputies, provincial party control and inspection commissions, supervisory, prosecution, and administration of justice representatives. Also participating were Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary; Zbigniew Michalek, Central Committee secretary; Jan Brol, vice minister of justice; Bogdan Sawicki, deputy chairman of NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control]; and Zbigniew Mikolajewicz, Opole Provincial governor.

The plenum was preceded by long-lasting and multidirectional preparations carried out by KW commissions and groups, party echelons and organizations, as well as party and government supervisory organs. Before the wage deliberations plenum participants obtained materials describing the dimensions and tendencies adopted toward the phenomenon of social pathology in Opole. These materials and the PZPR KW Executive Board report were presented by Zdzislaw Niedzielski, KW secretary. They represented an introduction to the plenary discussions, in which the following persons took part: Ryszard Kordasiewicz, KW Executive Board member and PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] first secretary at the Coke Plant in Zdzieszowice; Roman Troszczynski, Opole KM [City Committee] first secretary; Col Julian Urantowka, chief of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs; Bronislawa Smolarek, KW member and employee at the Opole Provincial Hospital; Jan Duda, Opole Provincial Court judge; Stanislaw Sojka, KW Executive Board member, and worker at Agromet in Brzeg; Tadeusz Dekutowski, KW member and teacher from Dobrzen Wielki; Tadeusz Gwozdziejewski, chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission; Jan Szymanski, Opole Provincial Prosecutor; Jan Muzyka, KW Executive Board member and PZPR KMG [City-Gmina Committee] first secretary in Brzeg; Tadeusz Jerzyk, director of the NIK office in Opole; Janusz Krysztoflak, Opole director of the treasury; Zygmunt Siedlecki, Opole vice governor; and Andrzej Zamojski, Brzeg regional prosecutor.

Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary also participated in the discussion and indicated that "since the Ninth Congress we are becoming the same and yet not the same party. We are trying to eliminate from our party all that which makes it difficult for the public to understand our desires and aims. We are attempting to provide proof that no opinion, especially that of the working class concerning various negative phenomena, will be ignored. We cannot lack patience for this."

The plenum adopted the resolution which defined the tasks resulting from the sessions for the Opole provincial party echelons and organizations. In this resolution, the party provincial committee appealed to fellow political parties and to all progressive public groups in the region to participate in the universal condemnation of any attempts at unlawfulness and violation of the law. The provincial committee also adopted a resolution concerning the fulfillment of proposals from the previous plenary session, dealing with party echelon and organization tasks in the ideological and political strengthening of the party and the shaping of the socialist consciousness of Opole residents.

In summing up the deliberations, Eugeniusz Mroz, KW first secretary, stated: "Here in Opole there are 67,000 party members. If we were all to react in a timely manner toward any incidents concerning violation of the law and public principles, then perhaps many of the phenomena discussed at the plenum would not have taken place. If everyone had fulfilled his obligations properly at work and in his community, many of the pathological phenomena would have been much more limited in scope. Therefore we must all establish a front of understanding in our battle with dishonesty, a front of censure for dishonesty and for persons who make their living in this manner, and live better than those who work honestly. This problem must serve as a constant topic of discussion at our party meetings and everyday public activities. Today we have undertaken an important resolution and one anticipated by society. We must now do everything possible so that this resolution will not be a lifeless one."

The Internationale was sung at the conclusion of the deliberations.

The Opole PZPR KW Resolution

On 3 October 1983, the Opole PZPR KW, after hearing the KW Executive Board report and the discussions, has determined that the aim to establish a general public front for combating any indications of social pathology, violation of the law, as well as extensive support of supervisory, prosecution and administration of justice organs in eliminating these trends, is essential. The basic principle that "We are a party of the working class, and a party which combats evil," must guide all our actions. The task for the entire provincial party organization and the government and economic organs is to listen intently to the workers' opinions on the principles of justice. All party activities must be subordinated to the wishes and interests of our class, and in accordance with the resolutions of the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

Party echelons and organizations must constantly condemn defects in the workplace, in colleges, in schools, and at home, as well as ensure compliance with the principles of social justice. This obligates one to more active participation in the solution of economic issues and workers' problems, the establishment of a good working environment, competition and leadership in the fulfillment of production tasks, as well as surmounting the attitudes of the opposing system, hostility toward the realization of economic reform, and the fulfillment of principles of social justice and sociopolitical stabilization.

Taking into consideration the wide range of issues which were the subject of today's discussions, the Opole PZPR Provincial Committee compels:

--the PZPR echelons and organizations as well as all party members to create in their communities an atmosphere of respect for the law, for order and for work by all citizens together with condemnation of social pathology;

--party echelons and organizations within the factories and institutions to carry out evaluations of the economic situation, safeguard property and the operation of the internal supervisory cells, in order to counteract the opportunity for abuse;

--party echelons and organizations to carry out evaluations concerning the views of party members in leadership positions, in order to ensure their compliance with the socialist principles of social justice, and fighting occurrences of social pathology;

--the KW Executive Board and the basic party echelons to provide permanent inspiration for the prosecution, administration of justice, supervisory, and state administrative organs with the objective of increasing the effects of the battle and improving public law and order;

--party members working on people's councils, trade unions, and other self-governing organs to inspire these organs to act in order to undertake supervisory tasks in government matters which affect the vital interests of all citizens;

--party organizations in schools to influence the attitudes of the youth with regard to respect for the law, public and private property, and work;

--the Provincial Center for Ideological Indoctrination to organize a series of lectures and talks devoted to the problems of public law and order, and for combating any social pathology phenomena;

--TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, Polish Radio and TV editorials in Opole, newspapers and factory broadcasting centers to popularize the contents of today's plenum. The press must cultivate an attitude of universal censure for any indications of social pathology and abuse.

The plenum thanks all of those who through their commitment and attitude have been instrumental in their honest and conscientious service and work for the good of the socialist state.

The plenum appeals to all party members to augment their efforts in order to improve law and order and public safety.

We turn to the political parties, to PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] cells, youth organizations, secular Catholic organizations, and to all non-party members to participate in eliminating the sources of social pathology, abuses, and violation of moral norms.

We are turning to union and self-management organizations to combat mismanagement and waste.

The KW Executive Board and party echelons will be obligated to develop a specific timetable for the fulfillment of this resolution.

The PZPR Opole KW Report

We are holding the current plenary session during a time of increasing national sociopolitical stabilization. This present a good opportunity for undertaking an experiment to recapitulate the last 3 years, the effectiveness of our work during this time, the work competence of government cells which include the government administration, the economic administration, prosecuting and administration of justice organs, as well as the competence of the party in carrying out its leadership role with respect to these organs. The repeal of martial law also induces one to such reflection, a fact which in itself constitutes a positive appraisal of events within the country. Leaving behind other solutions, it must be emphasized that prosecution and administration of justice organs as well as the majority of the government and economic administration organs in our province carried out their basic tasks insofar as preservation of law and order was concerned, beginning with the onset of pressure by the antisocialist forces after August 1980, as well as during the martial law period.

The repeal of martial law ushers a new quality of legitimacy into our public life. It does not, however, change the party's tasks regarding the obligation to carry out an offensive ideological struggle with the political opponent. One of the aspects of this struggle particularly emphasized in the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress resolution, concerns the fight to strengthen the legally governed nation.

The experience of past years clearly demonstrated that besides the objective reasons, the justifiable rebellion of the working class also provoked the insolence of the leadership, violation of the law by government, enterprise, and institution officials. The reconstruction of the government's influence necessitates the reconstruction of legal influence, and the elevation of the public's legal awareness to a higher level. We cannot continue, as previously, to demand that laws be abided by exclusively by the citizens. The legal governing by the leadership can particularly ensure the equity of all government organs, and at the same time they can govern democratically.

We remember well the time prior to 13 December 1981, the atmosphere of those days full of tension and drama. A time when the opponent attacked the party, sociopolitical organizations, law and order and administration of justice organs. The leading slogan used advocated incitement to be insubordinate toward the leadership's decisions. Simultaneously an increase in the decline in general public discipline and growth of delinquency was apparent. Unfavorable phenomena with regard to political attitudes also appeared in the Opole region, and organizational groups arose in our province which were quickly dominated by groups representing antisocialist attitudes. A lack of political activities in the factories during that time resulted in political initiative being in large part taken over by the opposition. The opposition began a concentrated attack upon the public law and order forces, counting on the fact that the weakening of this organ would lead in directly to the weakening of one of the most vital elements of the leadership structure of the working class.

Similar tactics were used against a number of administrative and economic organization representatives.

Restoration of an Appropriate Sense of Legal Governing

The announcement of martial law radically improved security and law and order. Initially, it was characterized in Opole by a significant improvement in work discipline and a decrease in everyday crimes. The elimination of a specific group of political opponents from Opole's population in a short time allowed for the suppression of anarchy, while the strict martial law restrictions limited everyday crimes.

Within limits, however, the easing of martial law restrictions and the release of internees caused the situation to deteriorate. Once again slogans and leaflets which advocated active struggle with the leadership began to appear in our city streets. The number of common crimes rose. An apparent lack of work commitment was noted in the factories, as was the growth of unjustified medical excuses, resignations from work, as well as refusal to carry out one's obligations. The distribution of hostile leaflets, bulletins and posters increased. Although there are examples of opposition activity on various levels taking place in Opole, we have determined that it never assumed the dimensions asserted by the opposition. The traditionally good discipline of the residents of our province had considerable influence upon this state of affairs.

We are aware that despite the improvement achieved, the situation in many areas of sociopolitical and economic life cannot be satisfactory. This occurs despite the implementation of various decisions which are organizing the nation's existence. Areas of danger exist and continue to appear, while forces are at work which delay the stabilization. Therefore, problems concerning law and order and security will continue to be a subject of concern for the provincial party echelon.

The PZPR Provincial Committee in Opole is fighting for social justice and for the elimination of pathological phenomena among its primary tasks, treating them as an expression of the protection of the fundamental interests of the workers. The PZPR reports-elections conference defined the tasks in this area. In accordance with the program adopted by the conference, the problem concerning compliance with the principles of justice and in overcoming pathological elements was often carried out by the PZPR KW Executive Board and Secretariat, Provincial Defense Committee, the People's Council Presidium, and other organs. Their guiding principles and recommendations were consistently carried out by specialized supervisory organs, including the public supervisory organ. A very positive role was also played by the military operational group supervisory organs. At this time, the benefits derived from the multidirectional measures passed in the province concerning social pathology are enormous.

A series of personnel decisions have been undertaken to eliminate those individuals incapable of carrying out their leadership duties during a time of difficult socioeconomic conditions. For example, because of NIK activities in 1982 and in the first half of 1983, sanctions were employed against 300 individuals, of whom 59 were in executive positions. The state Labor Inspectorate punished 143 individuals in executive positions for breaking the labor laws. Three directors were removed from their administrative organ positions.

The Areas of Social Pathology Are Still Broad

Social pathology appears to be one of the most prevalent crimes, yet it contains a principle on the inviolability of public and private property. Approximately 64 percent of all crimes in the province are carried out against the property of others. The number of those who threaten public property continues to create great danger for many areas of our economy. We continue to be forced to deal with scandals concerning public property.

A second group of crimes is constituted by profiteering. Its appearance on a scale unknown before 1981 remains directly and simply connected with the market situation. A majority of speculative activities detected in commerce were uncovered by internal supervisory control organs. In relation to this, a question comes to mind: Do these organs, specifically the PIH [State Trade Inspectorate], NIK, or the MO, really possess better capabilities to detect speculation in commerce, rather than the supervisory and leadership organizations active within individual commercial units? Is this leadership not able to or unwilling to direct internal supervisions so as to solve the problem in its area and with its own forces?

Public criticism does not diminish in this area. Especially bitter are the complaints by workers at basic party organization meetings leveled at the excessive and illegal enrichment of a rather small group. In mid-1981, the Opole governor appointed a Provincial Commission for Combatting Speculation. Its basic task is to coordinate all the activities in the fight against profiteering. During 1982 and the first half of 1983, 537 individuals were revealed to have participated in speculative activities. The goods in question which were the subject of the profiteering activity totaled over 8 million zlotys.

The feeling of security felt by the citizens is shaped mainly by the prism of safe work, no threats against their lives, health, property, recreation and the inviolability of their domestic peace. Ignoring the problem of criminal cases, we will turn our attention to other and often tragic consequences of a lack of discipline. As a result of the violation of bhp [work and safety hygiene] regulations, 51 persons died in work-related accidents during the abovementioned period, while 175 others were permanently injured. Because of a lack of discipline in the road, 250 persons died in car accidents. The losses suffered in our province are augmented by losses due to fires. These losses totaled approximately 250 million zlotys between 1979 and 1982. Even a cursory analysis of the causes indicates that the dominant causes are due to disregard for one's duties and a lack of supervision.

The issue connected with the widely understood public discipline is work discipline, one of its obvious elements is unjustified absence from work. ZUS [Social Security Agency] statistics indicate that approximately 60,000 workdays were unjustifiably lost in the production sector.

It would be interesting to examine the problem concerning labor responsibility for such large numbers of workdays lost, and in this manner obtain information in order to implement labor discipline by the employer. Perhaps the party control commission would undertake investigations as to how party organizations account for party members carrying out their obligations regarding compliance with labor discipline.

An even more burdensome phenomenon in terms of economic losses is the use of sick leave. The number of sick days totaled 4.8 million in 1977, and 6,170,000 in 1982, and attests to the tremendous increase in sick leave. Can we provide answers to these questions on the causes? It appears that we do not know the complete answer. We do know, however, of the existence of certain symptoms of malfunctioning affecting the system of giving out medical dispensations. Party organizations and other organs working within the health care sector should take the indicated problem into consideration in their work. We also propose that the Opole governor compile a report in the health status of province residents, primarily taking into consideration the industrial enterprises which demonstrate a continuing increase in the use of sick leave.

Here is some data on the situation in Opole Province concerning another social illness, specifically alcoholism. First of all, the failure to register the increase in the illegal manufacture of alcohol should be emphasized. In comparison with 1981, the growth in 1982 represents a 53 percent increase.

The Industrial Protection Inspectorate data indicates that the number of those who wish to bring alcohol onto factory grounds, as well as those who are not permitted on factory grounds or those who are stopped on the factory grounds because they are intoxicated, is increasing. The number of persons in the provincial detoxification centers is disturbingly high. The number of drivers stopped by the MO because of evidence of driving while intoxicated has risen 50 percent since 1981.

In workers' communities there is decisive criticism of social parasitism. Especially disturbing is the fact that persons not producing for the national income and not participating in the public division of labor not only prey upon the public, but through various schemes and thievery deprive those working honestly of their money. Colleagues often demand a radical examination of the social parasitism problem. However, it must be remembered that there are many resolved and strong opponents of compulsory work. It is also true that those enterprises unwillingly accept workers whose contributions are doubtful, though their demoralizing influence upon the other workers is unquestionable. Pertinent tasks should therefore be within the work program of the factory party, youth, and professional organizations.

One cannot ignore the obviously increasing drug addiction within the panorama of pathological phenomena. We have had the first fatalities from drug overdoses. It is very probable that more will occur, and this gloomy prediction is based upon the annual growth in the number of drug addicts (from 497 in 1979 to 687 in 1982). Overcoming drug addiction through legal means, as well as preventing its consequences through treatment, is not bringing noticeable results. It appears that our principal task will be to initiate multidirectional activities which will emphasize the scope of the problem, the public and individual consequences, and make it much more difficult to obtain drugs.

A Resolution Will Not Help in the Struggle With Dishonesty

The reports campaign carried out by the party, as well as the community meetings held in party work centers, disseminated information on the status of law and order in the province. The investigation carried out immediately indicated the still existing dangers. We are attempting to counteract them through whatever means possible. Thus we expect more activity on the part of the factory leadership, the economic aktiv, and the factory party organizations. The party and its members must be active wherever events of importance for the working class and for the sociopolitical situation are occurring.

Great reserves of energy and fighting spirit which have not yet been fully utilized exist within the party. Their implementation force is disproportionate to the resolutions and plans. The activism of tasks and party results in the struggle with dishonesty remains insufficient. The party must take over the obligations concerning the shaping of the general struggle by compliance with principles of social justice, surmounting distortions, and through broad understanding of moral integrity.

In order to strengthen its role as the spokesman for justice, the party must currently examine carefully the problems which are disturbing the workers. Complaints and cases of intervention received by the echelons must be taken

care of discerningly. We cannot and we do not want to have a monopoly in these matters, we cannot become an institution for appeals and grievances. The creation of an atmosphere of amicability and quick reaction to the public's problems is considered by us to be inspiring to the party and represents tasks which activate the qualified administrative and self-management organs.

The KW Executive Board and Secretariat undertook a series of activities aimed at improving the efficiency of the office concerned with settling the public's grievances and comments, resulting from the general sociopolitical situation, as well as individual problems of the citizens. As a result of a KW Secretariat decision, a PZPR KW intervention organ was appointed in May 1983, which is involved in the investigation and clarification of complaints which demand immediate intervention on the part of the party.

We have observed a significant increase in the number of oral and written grievances and interventions on the part of the public. In the first 6 months, we noted a 50 percent increase in complaints in the provincial committee, while the number doubled in the basic party echelons.

The district party committee sessions and the community meetings have enabled us to better recognize the situation in the district, demonstrate inadequacies and threats in the area of law and order. They have revealed the need for a joint public front together with its organs and organizations in the struggle for social justice and security. They have intellectualized the widely recognized truth that everyone is responsible for law and order, and party members should be in the forefront of this struggle.

More attention needs to be devoted than has been up until now to the methods for implementing the laws, especially in individual matters relating to the citizens. The manner of settling these matters by the offices contributes to the evaluation not only of the offices, but of our entire party as well. We will surmount uncompromisingly any indications of abuse of authority by government officials and others.

The accomplishment of outlined tasks represents a further chance for improvement in law and order, and security in our province. Therefore, it is also important to broaden the public front for reaction to indications of lawlessness. We cannot do this alone, we must have upright and honest individuals from allied parties, as well as non-party members to assist in the struggle.

In the current report we have attempted to demonstrate that it would not be sufficient to undertake topical discussions at meetings, and the best plan developed by party organizations for someone who even based upon attribution must accomplish them, would not be sufficient. Everyone must work actively on this matter. After all, we have colleagues in all government organs, and their activity is decisive in the shaping and evaluation of the state of law and order in our province.

We believe that today's plenum discussion will enrich our reserve of already existing experiences in the struggle with pathology and injustice, and will broaden the proposed front for future activities. Based upon the achievements of the provincial committee deliberations, party organizations in the entire

province must accept the resultant proposals to carry out their activities and set individual tasks for all party members. We are putting similar tasks before the provincial and gmina administration, and they must realize that their hitherto existing activities designed to combat pathology and ensure justice were not always sufficient and effective.

We believe that all supervisory institutions and organs will verify their own programs of activity and will enrich them with experiences and proposals resulting from today's provincial committee sessions.

Ryszard Kordasiewicz: As the KW commission chairman involved with complaints and intervention by the populace, the speaker presented the dimensions and manner of settling grievances. The 50 percent increase in the KW and the doubling in district echelons may and does signify increased confidence in the party, but particularly it uncovers poor work on the part of government and economic administrative units.

Often the incoming grievances are not recorded, their solution is not supervised, nor is there analysis of the causes for the complaints. At the same time, a majority of them could be settled on the lowest level without overinvolvement in the conflict.

As the Coke Enterprise KZ first secretary, Comrade Kordasiewicz also turned his attention to the complaints recurring in his area concerning the difficulties for the residents of his gmina caused by the regionalization of certain institutions and enterprises. They have their headquarters in Kropkowice, Strzelce, Kedzierzyn-Kosle, Opole, and this compels the residents to travel quite a bit to resolve various matters.

Roman Troszczynski: The depiction of social pathology is dismal. The economic crisis and market shortages are often mentioned among the reasons. At the same time, we have been faced with market shortages for such a long time that we have already brought up a whole generation of profiteers and swindlers. The current state of moral and legal consciousness of the youth indicates the inefficiency of our efforts and predicts a long life for social pathology.

One of the most important sources of demoralization is the toleration of waste and mismanagement, and it often results from incompetent management, poor work organization, and poor public supervision. There are, however, many cases when the complexity of legal norms makes it difficult to punish the guilty. Often this is ostensible punishment, for example, when the fines are paid from the enterprise fund rather than by the guilty person.

Despite the fact that party organizations have recently been burdened with many tasks, they should devote more attention to this matter. It is regretful, however, that their view is not always taken into consideration, since the consequences of waste will burden the directors. This necessitates urgent regulation of party personnel policy.

Julian Urantowka, chief of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs, who devoted much time in his speech to the characterization of the status of political crimes: They continue to exist; however, the MO [Citizens' Militia] and the SB [Security Service] organs have recognized the opposition, and are aware of its tactics and connections. Their public base of activity is clearly diminishing, but still it is not possible to spare any effort to win over to party policy this potentially sympathetic group of opponents. The consistent fulfillment of the Ninth Congress program will be a particularly effective weapon.

An improvement in public safety is evident, and the citizens' frame of mind is also calmed. An increase in everyday crimes, however, is troublesome, especially crimes against property. Speculation and annexation of public property continues to be significant. The militia itself as well as the courts are not sufficient in this case. We already have allies in the form of workers' groups who are helping us with our antiprofiteering activities. Yet we need not only joint activity, but also daily activity.

Bronislawa Smolarek: One can fight dishonesty successfully only with broad cooperation among all the public forces. Nonetheless, much also depends upon the system conditioning, management ability, and legislative activities. In observing other nations, not exclusively socialist ones, it is evident that our Citizens' Militia is too small, and one can walk through the entire city without seeing one patrol. Society must be educated not only in the schools, and adults must be accustomed to order in order to benefit from reliable mandates and stiffer penalties for offenses.

In addition, the excessive sick leave is disproportionate to the state of health of the public, and in large measure results from the deficiencies in many of the laws concerning labor. New laws rewarding those in the health care sector at times in fact serve as incentive for those who get ill, as well as those who take their places and are paid overtime. A special recognition supplement which would provide incentive for reliable work has vanished. The principles governing the calculation of the equalizing tax also provide incentive, since the sick leave supplement is not included in the basic assessment. It is also common for mothers to use their entire 60 days of full-paid maternity leave.

Many other similar defects bring us to the realization that we may be able to overcome the opponent by not supplying him with weapons in the form of our incompetence.

Jan Duda: As the head of the Provincial Court, the speaker determined that the high efficiency of the courts in dealing with economic crimes, waste and mismanagement, speculation and fiscal abuse places the province in the forefront of the nation. Punishment of offenders has increased, the punishment frequently includes fines and confiscation of property, as well as additional punishment in the form of a ban on holding certain positions and publicizing the punishment. This last form of punishment is not being carried out properly, and the consistency of the factory administration in obtaining compensation from those who misuse or waste is also quite insignificant.

We should not delude ourselves into thinking that the establishment of an excellent law will automatically bring about results. But then, for example, what of the stricter regulations of 13 May 1983, the antialcohol resolution under which only two cases of drinking vodka on the job have been brought before the courts? In the first 6 months, not a single sentence was passed on those neglecting their work, in certain regions there were no proposals regarding compulsory treatment of alcoholics. These are more examples of regulations which do not work because of community tolerance and the leniency of the supervisory organs. The family does not carry out its upbringing obligations, and public guardian institutions are not properly financed and lack sufficient personnel.

Stanislaw Sojka: As a member of the KW Executive Board, the speaker had the opportunity to visit many enterprises in the province, and to hold discussions as one worker to another. He has drawn the conclusion that much of the dishonesty arises from a feeling of injustice regarding renumeration for work. This does not merely concern the amount earned in relation to the increasing cost of living, but also the fact that the principle governing salary in proportion to work is not always fulfilled in practice. If we were to have wage schedules, then we would have fewer problems with work discipline, interpersonal relationships among workers, efficiency, etc. Since one earns the same just for showing up, why bother working? An appropriate renumeration system which would encourage increased effort through a suitable reward would also allow for a decrease in overemployment, thereby assisting interpersonal relations. What can a director do if a worker is abusing work discipline, since that worker can resign at any time and leave for a better paying job elsewhere?

The speaker also expressed doubts as to the success of the most recent anti-alcohol law. Does the principle of selling alcohol after 1:00 pm produce any effect, since from perfunctory observations it appears that consumption of alcohol is increasing rather than decreasing? The passage of ineffective laws is harmful in itself.

Tadeusz Dekutowski: Mere encouragement to comply with the laws will not suffice. The more important problem concerns the recognition of the reasons causing the transgressions. Only then will it be apparent that the ideological and educational sources in the struggle with social pathology are much more important than is repression. There would undoubtedly be fewer crimes against property if the workers would be linked to their work by more than a labor agreement. Excessive consumption often conceals ethical values, and is in the words of the speaker one of the reasons for the growth of dishonesty. It is regretful that Poland's history does not provide examples of success which Poles could attribute to discipline, hard work, and quality of work. An even greater injury is that idleness or carelessness is inefficient; that just as it is inconsequential for the student whether he receives an A or a C, so for the worker it is unimportant whether he works well or not. The difference between good and evil is gradually being erased, and it sometimes happens that honesty is becoming an object of politicizing. The supervisor is more fearful of his subordinates than the reverse. The struggle with this degeneration must already be started in the schools or even earlier.

An atmosphere of the stability of our principles and the perspective of the order which we embody is essential. We now have fewer problems with the political opposition; therefore, I propose that the party's entire effort be directed toward the battle with economic crimes and social pathology.

Tadeusz Gwozdziewski: Sharing his observations from previous supervisory activity (as the Provincial Party Control Committee chairman), he concluded that it is necessary to demonstrate greater consistency in combating waste, manifestations of incompetence, avoidance of inconvenience, and bureaucracy. He stated that the work of the internal supervisory organs demands decisive strengthening and improvement. Often it operates under the needs of strict enterprise management, whose interests are not always the same as the interests and needs of the workers.

The speaker turned his attention to the fact that the evaluation of the results of every supervisory effort at party organization meetings, as well as open POP meetings and during executive factory committee sessions, should become law. He also focused attention on the need to carry out cautionary party meetings with directors of units in which supervision had revealed irregularities, and the rapid and effective reaction by supervisory organs toward the press and radio insofar as waste and inefficient economic indicators are concerned.

The speaker also emphasized that in post-supervisory recommendations it would be necessary to single out more frequently those guilty of social or economic waste.

Jan Szymanski: He concluded that between 1981 and 1982, that is, during the period of increasing national sociopolitical anarchy, extreme violations of the law were not noted in Opole. This is due to the civic-mindedness of a majority of the residents of our province, people known for their respect for law and order.

The speaker stressed that a characteristic phenomenon is that for almost 6 years crime indicators in our region have not demonstrated a tendency to increase and are lower than the national indicators.

The provincial prosecutor also presented some statistics demonstrating the range of specific types of offenses. So-called crimes against public property were predominant, and breaking into private and public buildings had become a problem. He also stressed that an increase in the number of economic crimes causing great losses also represents an undesirable tendency.

In conclusion, the speaker appealed to party members to preserve in the public's mind the principles concerning everyone's responsibility for his work and for cultivating respect for his work.

Jan Muzyka: He stressed that the PZPR City-Gmina Committee in Brzeg was also interested in ideological, educational and interparty matters, which constituted the subject of the KW plenum session, since the Brzeg community occupies a discredited place in the province insofar as frequency and occurrences of crimes and social pathology were concerned.

He censured the continuing frequency of the phenomenon of disregard for public property, which resulted in theft in factories, material waste, and chaos. He also stressed that too frequently discussion at the basic party meetings concerns the irregularities in the province, as well as the nation, but those in the immediate area go unnoticed. "We see a straw from a great distance; however, we ignore a log lying right under our own feet, and we often trip over it."

The speaker also shared his observations concerning the accomplishment of post-supervisory activities. He asserted that much more attention was being paid to the development of plans which would satisfy the supervisory organs than to the actual settling of complaints and proposals.

Tadeusz Jezyk: He reported that last year and in the first half of 1982, the Opole NIK representatives supervised 276 units in our province, and in many cases found irregularities, among others, in management, investigative activity, and in pricing policy (for example, unfavorable trends in relations between wage and price increases and labor output). Work-related sanctions were carried out following proof of neglect against 300 persons (of those over 50 were directors, their deputies, and chief bookkeepers).

The speaker described the scope of these irregularities, among others, examples of supervision carried out in the Opole Food Concentrates Plant, where the number of complaints regarding quality and durability of goods almost doubled in comparison with 1982. Production of baby food was started without certification. In another of the supervised enterprises, unfinished furniture was sold at prices equivalent to finished furniture from which the firm profited unjustly.

Discussing the results of supervision carried out in September 1983 in conjunction with the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs, advisers, and representatives of public supervisory organs, and concerning the protection of warehouses, construction, and working quarters, he concluded that the most glaring negligence appeared in the Opole Spolem enterprise, in which the seals, credit forms, and warehouse keys were neglected. The reason for the majority of the cases of negligence was the obvious disregard for one's professional responsibilities and poor supervision on the part of the factory cells.

Janusz Krysztofiak: He initially stated that it was fortunate that the party is opposed to manifestations of social pathology, which has been assisted by the poor economic situation.

While discussing the manifestations of mismanagement, waste and financial abuse, he concluded that the most distorted principles of economic reform are the overestimation of contract prices and unsuitable economic relations (an incommensurate increase of wages in proportion to labor output). While speaking about unjustified costs he cited the example of the Disabled Cooperative "Pioneer" in Prudnik which (as an FSD cooperative) earned profits of 6 million over the contracted amounts on only two articles.

J. Krysztofiak stated that, in his opinion, the party organizations must withdraw their endorsements of those who in undertaking decisions are guided by partiality and not public interest.

In discussing his professional experiences, he stressed the fact that many private enterprise owners in the crafts industry still continue to calculate their profits dishonestly, thereby obtaining higher benefits which lead to excessive wealth. The Treasury is trying to counteract this trend. He also determined that opinions are being expressed in many of the POP's that the consequences of the crisis in which the nation finds itself have not been distributed equally among all social groups.

Zygmunt Siedlecki: The chairman of the group for dealing with speculation indicated that the forms and methods of the struggle with dishonest businessmen are being improved. However, the dishonest element does not remain immobile and continues to employ newer methods and tricks unknown until now. Using statistical data, the provincial governor described the scope of speculation in our province.

In discussing the work of the government administrative organs, Z. Siedlecki concluded that even the most minor grievance under their jurisdiction should be analyzed and should serve in improving future activity. Simultaneously, he stressed that the majority of the office personnel still approaches the petitioners with hesitancy, which in turn creates an unpleasant atmosphere and also reflects upon the general evaluation of the work of the government administrative organs. He also expressed the sentiment that the oath which government workers have already taken this year would be a disciplinary measure as far as behavior toward petitioners is concerned.

Andrzej Zamojski: He determined at the beginning of his report that despite the increasing stabilization in social and economic life, we must not ignore the obvious drop in the number of crimes. In order to achieve this, we need a general change in the public's attitude.

Referring to the reports of several of the previous speakers and using examples from his experience as a prosecutor, he gave a series of examples of negative attitudes of representatives of certain professional groups (physicians among others), who do not comply with regulations on income and who conceal their true income. In our society there are still many others who complain about how badly off they are, while in actuality they possess much accumulated wealth. He also discussed the public's evaluation of the activities of the law enforcement organs. One still finds a great reluctance on the part of the residents of many areas of Opole toward officials carrying out their duties or prosecuting those guilty of serious crimes and fatal accidents.

Milewski's Speech at Opole Sessions

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 5 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Referring to the progress of the sessions, the Central Committee secretary concluded that "the subject of your sessions is very important and difficult. In the struggle with law breakers and social pathology, we have a great deal of experience and continue to obtain new experience. It is fortunate that in Opole we have been tempted to reflect on the most recent

years, noting how deviation from socialism and its Leninist principles is causing an unwillingness on the part of the working class toward the party and mistrust in our ideals. Also, we have noted the fact that internal and external enemies have forced themselves into the place vacated by us. I would seek a response to this question as to why is it so difficult for us to convince our society and to regain its complete trust."

Secretary M. Milewski continued by saying that "the basic wisdom of our party today is that we try to follow a consistent line outlined by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, at which we adopted the only successful program for our party, populace, and nation. During the 3 years since August 1980, and more than 2 years after the Ninth Congress, we did not try to change anything in the evaluation of the causes of the Polish crisis. We maintained at that time and we confirm constantly today that we cannot deviate even one step from the party's ideas and programs. We must obstinately aim to realize our principal task, which is the construction of a socialist Poland and a cadre for the nation.

"Today the Polish working class is hurt by the fact that there is still so much evil present, and that people are constantly being wronged. We understand this pain and bitterness, but we cannot forget that today no one asks the question: will Poland survive? We have rescued Poland from the tragedy which awaited it. Martial law as a painful experience for Polish society. We understand this. However, martial law was also the only and least costly solution to the situation in which Poland found itself at the end of 1981. Few believed then, and this included friends and enemies of socialism, that we would be able to resolve such a dramatic situation so calmly. Today, when the worst is behind us, we are confirming once again that none of the past distortions or errors will be repeated. The slogan: socialism yes, deviation, no will forever remain our guiding principle.

"In a few days we will be celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army, which in addition to its great deeds on the battlefield against fascism added yet another important chapter to the deeds of our nation. We owe it our deepest respect. We in this room should not forget the Citizens' Militia and its officers, who also have great influence upon the defense of Poland and its socialist system, as well as the protection of Poles against national tragedies. It is fortunate that Opole provincial party echelons perceive and respect the patriotic work of Polish soldiers and militia."

In concluding the general remarks concerning the subjects brought up in the report at the KW Executive Board plenum, M. Milewski suggested that in the future "when a matter as important to the entire population as was this Monday KW plenary session is presented in the future at this high level, allies from other political parties, trade union representatives, self-management activists, and representatives from social organizations such as PRON, youth organizations, Catholic organizations, and others should be invited." He concluded that this would enable them to see with what consideration the party provincial committee treats these different and at times complex problems.

In referring to the speakers' reports, M. Milewski stated: "You recollect that we are faced with a great struggle. Every speech contained numerous remarks and proposals of which nothing should be lost. Remembering the need for unyielding combat against any manifestations of wrongdoing, at the same time do not go toward onesided and paralyzing extremes. Although you know this problem well, look again at your various achievements in Opole. In comparison with them, wrongdoing and social pathology, although irritating and harmful, are merely secondary, although they are often exaggerated and generalized. This does not occur spontaneously.

"The trend toward confrontation did not work, and did not materialize for the opposition. As a result, the opposition produced aversion to everything Polish, and negated the efforts of the party and the entire society by saying that socialism is unreformable, and the party is weakening and unable to cope with public expectations. The dissemination of this gloom is one of the forms of political diversion carried out by the enemies of socialism. We must realize this; however, this does not mean that we can close our eyes in the face of this and not counteract it. You fight, and you remove the guilty from their positions. You carry out various moral censures. But we cannot limit ourselves to this. At this meeting today, we have not heard a single name, a single city or village which could serve as an example to others. I believe that this is false modesty. We lack examples of contemporary heroes. After all, they are among us in every community. These are honest, hardworking, committed, and modest people. They must serve as an example for others, their achievements must be disseminated, and we must try and imitate them.

"Soon we the party activists will be reporting to our electorate regarding what we and the party have done during this term. Besides the many irregularities presented here, the party in Opole has nothing to be ashamed of. You have done a great deal, and this is very much considering the conditions under which you were working. Therefore, the Opole party aktiv not only deserves to call attention to mistakes made here and there, but also the achievements as well."

In another part of his report, the Central Committee secretary discussed the need to seek party allies in order to achieve a strong socialist Poland. He stated: This is why we attach such importance to national understanding, PROW development, and the trade union and self-management movements. Our goal and task is to attract the broadest masses to govern and decide jointly upon the fate of the nation and the people. Some, however, charge that during the time of popular government, we demoralized Polish society. To this accusation we respond equally brutally by saying that during these 40 post-war years, Polish society achieved much more than ever before in such a short period, and after all we were not charged with their education throughout the years. We want to emphasize that we do not want conflict with the church, quite the contrary, we desire good relations; however, we will firmly support our position that everyone in the nation is subject to the same laws."

He continued by saying that "we have no illusion that the enemies of socialism have disappeared from Poland. It is true that some of them have abandoned their opposition, and others have realized their errors and have come over to

our side. We treat those who are loyal to the Polish People's Republic with complete respect; however, enemies still exist. If they desire to fight socialism, then they will suffer the consequences.

"The problem of ideological struggle and other matters linked with it will serve as the topic of the 13th Central Committee Plenum. We believe at all times that we cannot relinquish our aims for the complete realization of the Ninth Congress decisions. Since this congress, we have become the same party and yet again not the same. We are attempting to remove everything which makes it difficult for the public to understand our ideals, desires, and objectives. We are trying to present evidence that no opinions will be ignored, especially those of the workers which express various negative comments. We should not lack patience for this."

In conclusion, M. Milewski stated: "I desire for all the residents of Opole to be able to take pride in the well deserved results, and to wish them in the name of the Central Committee Politburo and on behalf of Comrade Jaruzelski satisfaction from their everyday work and for this socialist land."

Local Party Echelon Tasks

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (dk)]

[Text] A meeting of provincial local party echelon first secretaries took place in Wloclawek yesterday. The directors of the PZPR KW and ROPP [regional party work center] departments also participated. During the sessions, which were chaired by PZPR KW First Secretary Krystian Luczak, they discussed the party tasks for the near future. They stressed the need to strengthen the beneficial trends which have been noted recently in the provincial economy, especially the growth in market production, proper fulfillment of residential housing construction and expedient results in agriculture.

Besides these tasks, it is also necessary to surmount the negative economic trends which unfortunately still continue to appear in many enterprises. This mainly concerns raw material and energy mismanagement. Decisions and proposals concerning these matters were contained in the resolution of the last PZPR plenum. Much will depend upon its consistent implementation by all PZPR organizations and members.

During the sessions, the problems concerning further strengthening and activation of the provincial party organizations were noted. Tasks were addressed particularly to the PZPR basic party cells. They must devote more attention in their communities to overcoming the manifestations of wrong-doing and injustice, and become spokesmen for the workers' interests. Also stressed was the need for active participation in PRON cell, trade union and workers' self-management tasks.

Zielona Gora Sessions on Current Problems

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board in Zielona Gora deliberated yesterday afternoon. Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, and the heads of regional party work centers and KW departments participated in the discussion of current party work problems.

Information on ideological and political acitivity in the provincial party organization was presented by Jerzy Dabrowski, the KW first secretary. Besides intraparty tasks, and especially preparations for a reports-elections campaign, all party cells must shortly devote much attention to improving the economy, specifically concerning the struggle with material and raw material waste, increasing work output, management, manufacturing and public discipline, improving administrative activity, consistent fulfillment of anti-inflation and conservation programs, and better provision for the needs of the residents. The Executive Board acquainted itself with the general outline of the progress of the reports-elections meetings and conferences, as well as preparations for elections campaigns to the people's councils, and proposals for the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. Difficult political and economic tasks necessitate multidirectional activity on the part of all party cells and members.

Albin Siwak discussed this while responding to numerous questions of participants. The party leadership and the government are currently working upon the future management of the economic and social life of the nation. A general solution concerning wage policy and specification of party personnel policy is being prepared, among other things. The consistent fulfillment of the Ninth Congress goals is and will remain the principal task for the party and government authorities.

The Executive Board acquainted itself with the ideas of the upcoming provincial committee plenary session, which will be devoted to cultural participation in the accomplishment of the party's ideological program. It will take place in the third week of October in Zagan. The plenum was preceded by broad party echelon and public aktiv work, which included examination of the needs and the natural base of culture and community discussion of cultural development assumptions in the province.

The KW Executive Board noted information regarding the progress of the summer vacation programs for children and youth, and acquainted itself with the general outlines of ideological and educational program assumptions, and the organizational proposals concerning the tasks of institutions and organizations in the preparations for upcoming winter and summer youth vacation programs. The Executive Board adopted the provincial committee work plan and confirmed the topics for its 1983 fourth quarter sessions.

12229

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Biala Podlaska Province Plenum

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by (sw): "The Joint PZPR and ZSL Provincial Committees Plenum in Biala Podlaska--Unifying the Countryside Around the Agricultural Development Program" /

/Text/ The PZPR and ZSL Provincial committees joint plenum that took place yesterday (17 October) in Biala Podlaska evaluated the implementation of the 11th PZPR Central Committee and ZSL National Committee Plenum resolutions in the province. It was chaired by Czeslaw Staszczak, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial committee. It was attended by Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Jerzy Grzybczak, member of the ZSL National Committee Presidium, secretary of the ZSL National Committee and deputy chairman of the PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/ Country Council.

Tadeusz Jozefczak, chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee, presented the report of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Committee and ZSL Provincial Committee Presidium. The report discussed current organizational, investment and production activities that resulted in improving the effectiveness of agriculture in Biala Podlaska Province--as well as main party work directions resulting in a more stable political life in rural areas and overcoming economic difficulties.

As part of the implementation of the PZPR and ZSL Provincial committees' resolutions adopted last March, production of simple agricultural machinery and spare parts was initiated in the province's various plants. At present, over 20 plants produce about 30 lines of various goods of this type. Plans for this year include a production of 9,000 grain drills, 600 manure spreaders, 2,000 fork hay tedders, 600 digger elevator elements, 3,500 tractor harrow sets, and over 4 million harrow teeth.

Initiatives directed at increasing production of construction materials from local raw materials were implemented in the province. Work cooperatives, the

WZSR /Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives/, the WSBW /Provincial Rural Construction Cooperative/ and handicrafts undertook production of slag hollow tiles. Painters chalk will be produced in the Kornice Chalk Plants and nails will be produced in the Radzyn WUTEH /Transportation Equipment Production Enterprise/. The Parczew RSP /Agricultural Producer Cooperative/ will produce asbestos tile. Three handicraft brick factories were built, and a decision was made to build a silica plant in Woskrzenice. An increase in the production capacity of the Chotylow brick factory is being contemplated.

Every year Biala Podlaska Province appropriates considerable outlays for agricultural investments, particularly for arable land improvement and improved supplying of rural areas with water. The processing industry urgently needs to be expanded, but this is not possible, even though efforts have been made to this effect. Only dairy plants in Radzymin, Miedzyrzec, and Parchew will be modernized, and a mill construction is planned in Radzyn.

In the meantime, it is absolutely necessary to expand dairy plants in Biala Podlaska. However, because of the economic reform, the OSM /District Dairy Cooperative/ is not able to undertake it without help from the Central Union of Dairy Cooperatives.

One of Biala Podlaska's most important tasks concerning agriculture is proper use of arable land. It is not possible to have more land, so crops have to increase. The system of agricultural education, training, and consulting has to improve as well. The same goes for services performed by units serving rural areas and agriculture.

Biala Podlaska is the only province in the country where farmers receive free soil lime. Resources from the budget surplus were earmarked this year for the lime purchase as a result of the WRN /Provincial People's Council/ resolution. However, there are problems concerning getting lime from the industry, which delivers it irregularly and, also, makes available more alkaline lime than magnesium-carbonate lime, for which the demand is greater.

The report pointed out that the development of agricultural and rural areas is greatly influenced by a stable agricultural policy which has a favorable impact on the sociopolitical attitude in rural areas and stimulates production. The party and the government express a desire to implement such a policy and they actually implement it effectively. The problem is that farmers should be aware of it.

Important political activities include consolidation of the strength of the party and the ZSL and the necessary increase in party and ZSL organizations' influence on the socioeconomic life of rural areas.

The report justly pointed out that the PZPR and the ZSL are creating the necessary conditions for broad development of farmer self-government and its representative units. This should result in its effective influence on production and agricultural progress and its participation in decisions concerning supplying and distribution of production means.

Wieslaw Obszanski, deputy governor, continued to discuss the above issues in his statement. He examined the current situation and problems concerning Biala Podlaska agriculture and pointed out to the need for speeding up land improvement investments as well as the implementation of the modernization program for the Wieprz-Krzna Canal. Speaking about rural construction, the deputy governor emphasized that its deveopment is thwarted by the shortage of wall and roofing materials and metallurgical products.

Biala Podlaska Province is the country's important potato producer, but it does not have the capacity for local processing of this raw material when it is bought from farmers. About 60,000 tons of potatoes are transported every year to potato industry plants in Szczecin Province, shich treats Biala Podlaska Province exclusively as an exploitation area.

The following persons participated in the discussion as well: Mieczyslaw Romanowicz, a Czemierniki gmina farmer; Jerzy Stefaniuk, chairman of the Drelow Gmina ZSL committee; Slawomir Orzechowski, a Terespol Gmina farmer; Jozef Cmok, a Losice Gmina farmer; Stanislaw Marczuk, director of the Koroszczyn PGR /State Farm/; Tadeusz Bylicki, a Czemierniki Gmina farmer; Jan Matysiak, chairman of the ZSL unit, in Kostry (Milanow Gmina); Antoni Karwacki, a Lomazy Gmina farmer; Tadeusz Korulczuk, a Kakolewnica Gmina farmer; Andrzej Zachariasz, chairman of the WZSR; Stanislaw Kepka, director of the Lesna Podlaska ZSR /Basic Agricultural School/; Jerzy Grzybczak, secretary of the ZSL National Committee; Jan Dworniak, chairman of the Provincial Union of Dairy Cooperatives; Piotr Lipka, chairman of the ZSL gmina committee in Tuczna, Eugeniusz Tarasiuk, director, the Biala Podlaska WOPR /Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress/, and Urszula Kyzysztofik, deputy chairman of WZRKiOR /Provincial Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations/ in Biala Podlaska.

During the discussion, a view was expressed that further agricultural production development depends to a considerable degree on the attitude and the involvement of farmers themselves. It was stated that only a good farmer, i.e., a farmer whose farm is maintained at a high level, can ensure much cheaper food. The quality of agricultural equipment was criticized. It is also too expensive and its use does not make up for the money spent on it. It is not true, claimed one participant, that farmers have extra money at their disposal for equipment. They usually make efforts to purchase equipment first and then worry about the money.

Several suggestions were made concerning improvements in services for farmers. Cases of indolence and bureaucracy were condemned. Referring to the cattle-raising situation, the importance of a stable economic policy and shaping proper relations between procurement prices of plant and animal products for the development of the animal industry was pointed out.

The success of agriculture will also be determined by the active attitude of all farmers and party and ZSL members.

Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, point out in his statement that a unified PZPR and ZSL agricultural policy constitutes a tangible

proof of the worker-farmer alliance, and these organizations' joint plenum presents a perfect opportunity for determining how realistic are both the chosen tasks and their implementation.

Main directions of PZPR and ZSL members' and elements' joint activities leading to Biala Podlaska Province's agricultural development and the resulting food self-sufficiency of the province were outlined in the adopted resolution.

Plenum of Party Echelons, Elements

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 19 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

/Text/ /by M. St./ The Polish Ocean Lines' /PLO/ PZPR Plant Committee plenum took place yesterday in Gdynia. The enterprise's economic and cadre situation was discussed. The meeting participants included Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee; Zygmunt Rosiak, secretary of the PZPR Gdynia echelon; Jan Lisiecki, manager of the economy section of the PZPR Central Committee's Economic Department, and Abigniew Kowalczyk, director of the Maritime Economy Office's Department of Economy and Finances. Representatives of sociopolitical organizations active in the enterprise were also invited.

The KZ /Plant Committee/ Executive Committee's report discussed various aspects of the enterprise's complex economic situation. The enterprise's activities concern both the domestic and foreign markets which are influenced by many fluctuations and tensions of the capitalistic world's economy.

The cadre situation is also very difficult. Lately it was observed that some of the qualified economic-exploitation cadre left. At the same time the decreased tonnage due to anchoring some ships at the roadstead, has resulted in a sailing cadre surplus which increases the cost of maintaining the fleet.

Discussion participants expressed a critical view of some solutions applied in the framework of the economic reform's legislation to the line fleet, which is managed according to specific regulations. The need for preserving both the fleet's and particular lines' tonnage (at least) and the enterprise's cadre, since transportation markets will pick up eventually, was pointed out. It was also stated that the so-called state maritime policy that has been discussed by the PL0 work force cannot constitute the policy of only one ministry.

Several decisions directed at helping the enterprise and the so-called home flag preference resolution were adopted, and several other decisions are being prepared according to Ryszard Ulanowski, acting head director and Z. Kowalczyk, the ministry representative.

After 9 months, the PL0 economic results, achieved by putting the tonnage to better use, cost decreases, foreign cargo acquisition, and the foreign exchange surplus, are not really bad. However, the work force believes that it is not enough and it is disturbed by the enterprise's situation.

S. Bejger, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, pointed out such matters as the need for a more intensive use of opportunities for solving problems--those that present themselves in the course of the enterprise's activities. This does not mean that only easy solutions should be applied, such as a simple reduction of sailing work forces. It is necessary to activate services abroad, more closely examine the plant's organizational structure, and be either forceful or flexible, depending on the situation, when dealing with contractors, such as repair shipyards.

Exceptions from the economic reform based on the enterprise's specific needs are not advised. According to the speaker, the implementation of the reform's principles should be more efficient and its solutions should not be suddenly sprung on the enterprise that operates within the complex, often even stormy, international market.

Organizational matters were also discussed at the plenum. A resolution defining tasks of party members and their leadership acting within the PLO concerning solutions to the enterprise's most pressing problems was adopted at the session as well.

/by M. T./ The PZPR Plant Committee augmented plenum took place in the Gdansk Lenin's Shipyard to inaugurate the shipyard party organization's 1983/1984 training year.

The inauguration of the new year of ideological work was attended by Edward Kijek, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in Gdansk and Gen Bde Jerzy Andrzejewski, the WUSW /Provincial Office of Internal Affairs/ chief.

Jozef Bogdanowicz, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee, discussed the role and participation of party elements in employee committees in view of this year's production tasks for the work force.

Jozef Bodio, chairman of the PZPR Plant Committee Ideological Commission, emphasized in his programmatic statement the importance of ideological work among the shipyard's work force. During this new training year the ideological-educational activities conducted by the shipyard's party organization in cooperation with the WSNS /Higher School of Social Sciences/ will cover such issues as training candidates and recent party members, mass training of all POP /Basic Party Organization/ members, the team of lecturers' activities, and information-propaganda activities. Preparations are also being made to organize two WUML /Evening University of Marxism-Leninism/ branches. There is the Knowledge and Thought Club in the Gdansk shipyard since last June as well.

Edward Kijek, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, emphasized the role and importance of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum's content. He stated that it will be a subject of indepth discussions conducted in party organizations and it will stimulate much action. Next, E. Kijek discussed the party most important ideological tasks in their relation to the 13th Plenum's discussions and resolutions.

The inaugurations lecture: "Basic Social Objectives During the Period of Coming out of the Crisis" was delivered by Dr Boleslaw Przywara from the WSNS.

/by am/ The PZPR District Committee plenary conference took place yesterday in Gdansk-Wrzeszcz. Tasks that will have to be implemented by party organizations and echelons during the preparatory period and in the course of the reports-elections campaign were discussed. The conference was chaired by Andrzej Kwiatkowski, first secretary of the PZPR District Committee. It was attended by Jozef Bryll, manager of the PZPR Provincial Committee Organization Department. A programmatic report, delivered during the conference, referred to the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Matters including tasks that will be undertaken as a result of resolutions adopted at the session were discussed. Much attention was given to the role that will be played by the party's basic organizations during the reports-elections campaign, which is about to begin.

The District Committee entrusted the function of the organization's secretary to Ryszard Bielawski. Aleksander Wolski was elected a propaganda secretary by way of secret ballot.

A meeting devoted to the content of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum took place yesterday in the Elblag Zamech. It was attended by Stefan Walter, member of the PZPR Central Committee, and Jerzy Prusiecki, deputy member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee. They briefed meeting participants, i.e., members of the PZPR Plant Committee's plenum and secretaries of the Zamech POP, concerning the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. They also answered participants' questions and informed them in-depth on issues of interest to them.

During the second part of the PZPR Plant Committee's plenum, a resolution was adopted concerning the organization of the Zamech party organization's reports-elections campaign.

Kielce Province on Reports-Elections Campaign

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 19 Oct 83 p 2

/Article: Activities of the Kielce PZPR Provincial Committee's Executive Committee/

/Text/ The PZPR Provincial Committee in Kielce evaluated the province's economic situation after the first three quarters of this year, described the course of children's and youth's organized summer rest, and adopted a plan for the party's reports-elections campaign.

According to the executive committee, the province's economic situation has been characterized during the last 9 months by a more rapid increase in the population's financial income and expenditures than planned. The income increased 27 percent (as compared with the planned 15 percent increase), mainly due to the emolument increase. Expenditures increased by 36 percent (as compared with the planned 23.3 percent), which is partially due to the increased supply of some goods and to price fluctuations. To sum up, we witnessed a degree of stability

and calm at the market concerning food products and a slight improvement in the supply of industrial products. This has been manifested, e.g., by increased delivery of shoes to stores.

A higher production rate and increased labor productivity, mainly in plants producing consumer goods, have been noted in industry. However, industry continues to struggle with a shortage of raw and other materials originating from both domestic production and imports, as well as with a shortage of qualified workers, such as metallurgists, foundrymen and blacksmiths. Concerning the construction industry, it can be noted that the construction of new apartments that are to be completed in 1984 is an advanced state. In agriculture, fall activities were conducted efficiently and the procurement of grain, milk, and potatoes is in an advanced state. However, the decrease in cattle raising, especially hogs, is a cause for concern.

While evaluating the organization of children's and youth's summer rest, the Provincial Committee's Executive Committee explained that over 22,000 youths spent their vacations in Kielce Province. This number includes both residents and nonresidents of the province. Over 16,000 youths who are residents of the province spent their vacations outside of the province, mainly in the mountains and by the sea. A total of 62,000 youths took advantage of various forms of organized rest in their communities. Over 1,100 persons took part in the organized vacations action in the GDR. Altogether, over 84,000 young Kielce Province residents took advantage of organized summer rest. Plants, youth organizations and educators had to make considerable effort and efficient organization of vacations was needed to accomplish this. The executive committee thanked all for their efforts and requested that better care be taken to choose appropriate vacation spots and educator cadres next year.

During yesterday's conference the Provincial Committee's Executive Committee discussed and adopted a plan for political and organizational safeguarding of the party election campaign in Kielce Province.

Yesterday the PZPR Provincial Committee's Executive Committee also met with the Provincial Committee's political activists and participate in the cornerstone ceremony for the Kielce oncological hospital.

Gdynia Elections Campaign

✓ Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 20 Oct 83 p 2

Article: "A Conference of Party Secretaries in Gdynia--Thoughts on the Elections Campaign"

Text A conference of first secretaries of party plant and branch committees and city elementary organizations took place yesterday at the Gdynia PZPR City Committee. Activities concerning preparing and conducting of the party reports-elections campaign were discussed.

The PZPR Central Committee guidelines and provisional regulations for the campaign were discussed by Kazimierz Litzbarski, secretary of the PZPR City

Committee. The conference was also attended by Zdzislaw Stepien, member of the Central Revision Commission's Presidium. He also informed the conference participants concerning proceedings of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and answered questions asked by participants.

9959

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STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES OF PARTY STRUCTURE DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 260, 2 Nov 83 p 5

Article by Tadeusz Srumff: "Report-Election Campaign: Questions and Answers"

Text The phenomenon looks more or less like this: in one city, often on one street in two seemingly identical establishments: one party organization--after all the shocks of the recent time, after the diminution of its ranks, it has survived numerically large indeed, and it is clearly standing on its feet, already constituting a leading, fairly vigorous, influential force in its environment; the other--is hardly breathing, does not count in the work force, can barely be summoned to a sluggish meeting from time to time.

Thus, on the party map for a certain territory, which--generally speaking--attests to the strength of an organization, time after time white spots appear, signals of our diminished, sometimes very limited presence.

For obvious reasons this phenomenon is worth analyzing. There is no smoke without fire. Why are some fires all aglow, as they should be, while others that are nearby smoulder only with the greatest difficulty? And what can or should be done to kindle these smouldering fires?

We are talking about this subject with comrades in Walbrzych and Swidnica, although nearly every other locality could easily serve as the area of "examination."

Reversible Dependence

Jerzy Sedziak, secretary of the Walbrzych KM City Committee, offers the thesis that "in a numerically smaller working environment, right away there is greater difficulty finding someone with a more inquisitive, leader's personality. In one of the repair-construction enterprises the party organization did not manage to choose a secretary for a couple of months. Candidates were nominated, but no one wanted to accept the position, arguing that he was not capable, did not have experience, etc. We appointed an activist, a good comrade from outside, from another establishment. For 6 months he held the job, one could say he taught how the job should look. And afterward there was no longer any trouble electing an executive, a local secretary. At present this comparatively small, 20-member POP Primary Party Orgnaization is not doing badly and has opportunities for growth, for the growth of the ranks always depends on the quality of work of the POP, of course."

Exactly: if the organization is very small in relation to the number of employees, it often happens that it is weak, that its opinion does not have "penetrating force," it does not have influence, it does not count. Meanwhile, this dependence is reversible: low authority causes such an organization not to attract new members.

Why in Cooperatives?

Numerically small (in relation to the number of employees) party organizations can be found in Walbrzych cooperatives. Their activity and reaction to the course of affairs are also considerably weaker than in state, especially industrial, enterprises.

Why? One of the essential reasons, in the opinion of Comrade Sedziak, is the still continuing lack of capacity for discovery of party organizations in a rather new situation; when the cooperative's ability to govern itself is clearly becoming stronger.

This matter can be seen most sharply through the prism of cadre issues. When the party organization and the party instance have an influence on filling a position; when the party's recommendation or withdrawal of confidence in someone is considered--then, in the natural course of things, both the leadership of the institution and the entire worker collective definitely treat the party organization as an important, influential link.

Under conditions of a truly autonomous cooperative, a party organization cannot expect its opinion in matters of personnel staffing to be accepted only because it is a party opinion. The method of instruction and of posing views belongs irretrievably to the past. Whoever burns with indignation that some cooperative's council has not instantly recalled its president despite the party's withdrawal of its recommendation has understood very little indeed.

And yet the party does not want to be and cannot be deprived, of its influence on cadre staffing, even in a cooperative.

"The issue lies 'only' in how to realize this influence," says Comrade Sedziak. "Even a small, sufficiently active POP can create such a climate around itself that its opinion will count in all matters. But it has to have this opinion and express it courageously."

Healthy activity in cadre policy means constantly forming the opinion of people and not avoiding frank evaluations, and also--which we are implementing on a larger scale at present--the formation of cadre reserves. We are turning both to party and nonparty workers who are capable and honest. We are organizing training for them, for example, a special course at the WUML /Evening University of Marxism-Leninism/. A person who is well prepared and has a superior fund of general knowledge becomes a natural candidate for a position and also the favorite in elections held in an autonomous cooperative. Then a party recommendation has real "hands and feet." And our candidate has a substantial chance for victory.

Consequently, if a party organization knows how to "work with cadres" wisely, it will have an influence on cadre selection without any conflicts; it will be consulted about this selection, it will enhance its authority in the environment--which goes along with this--and further, as we have already said: it will gain new followers. Again the circle closes, but this time auspiciously so.

To Take Part in Everything?

But not only the matter of influence on cadres.

The weakness of many organizations derives from the fact that they are silent; they are simply silent, absent for the tens of complaints coming from the work force. They are afraid to...interfere, to meddle in a trade union's bailiwick. Some POP secretaries justify their silence with this fear.

Frequently, petty issues are involved. As if, thus, they are "too petty" for the POP. "Meanwhile," observes Comrade Sedziak, "greater wrong stems from these petty, uncorrected issues. And every wrong--much more than good--strains the party in people's opinion."

A weak organization cannot perceive this state of things. And therefore it is weak.

A well and wisely conducted POP thinks nothing of speaking out, of expressing its views on everything, important and seemingly unimportant alike. This builds its rank and the community's interest in it.

Where Does the Passivity Spring From?

The weakness of a primary organization is almost always synonymous with the passivity of its rank-and-file members. ("Nearly always," for there are cases when an exceptionally vigorous executive, an active secretary will "replace" an entire POP in a certain area.)

But his passivity does not come from nowhere. If rank-and-file members are not asked questions, if they are not consulted constantly on new matters brought by life; and if they are not charged with precisely defined tasks about which they given an accurate account by a given date--something which is particularly essential--then it is valid to ask: How can these rank-and-file members not be passive?

And thus, the weakness of these organizations that we are discussing here also results from their lack of capacity for organization, for conducting party work, and for involving rank-and-file members in their activities.

The secretaries and members of the executive bear the blame for this situation, as do those members of party instances (the city committee and executive committee) who limit their participation in authoritative areas to participation in plenums, thereby not helping their mother party organizations in any way.

But in a word, the blame seems to be improper here. More often it is a matter of a lack of experience, of a certain indispensable routine and of competence. And the lack of those things has its source in the fact that very many active party workers today are new people, from the 1981 elections, in which many experienced active workers were not re-elected (for example, among the 76 members of the Walbrzych KM, only 3 served on it previously).

If the right conclusions have not been drawn from this fact, and if new functionaries have not supplied and do not supply a more powerful dose of knowledge on the practice of party work, then it is difficult to hope that suddenly, by themselves, they will flash the talents of organizers, agitators, and leaders.

Formerly, local organizations worked well and were numerous. But the members of these POPs are mainly older people--pensioners. When, in the inexorable course of things, they leave forever or, as invalids, can no longer take part in party work, the organization will shrink, for the majority of the new pensioners, often "earlier" pensioners, do not want to break the bonds with their own plant, and they remain in the plant organizations. The local "Sand Mountain" POP in Walbrzych has shrunk lately from 130 to 90 members.

Perhaps this is an irreversible trend. And perhaps it will be proper to reflect on whether, for example, some of those comrades belonging to the POP in their plants should not participate in some way in the activities of the organization in their city of residence at the same time?

Dispersion

Confirming the many observations made above, Adam Czyz, first secretary of the Swidnica KM, completes the list of weak points with transport: in transport, party units are also few in number and function comparatively poorly.

The causes can be seen in the fact that transport is a poorly consolidated branch: the fields of activity are dispersed, far from the plant's center; the strong environmental bond which a factory creates by nature is also lacking.

This kind of work (and the situation is similar in trade, for example) does not promote normal party activities. It complicates them in a technical sense as well: it is difficult to convene a meeting of the POP at one time, in one city; therefore, attendance is often poor, resolutions are not adopted as a result of this, etc.

Influence on the Work Force

When an institution is not large and its chief is "firmly enthroned" (a prominent expert; let us say, a department chief in a hospital), the size and activity of the party organization clearly depend on the attitude of that individual. Is he himself a party member? And if so, is he active and courageous in promulgating his views? Or is the reverse true?

Or also, is he someone who emphasizes his political hostility, his negative attitude toward the party? For that happens, too.

Subordinates take account of their superior's opinion and take their example from him.

But can nothing be done in a case when such a chief impedes an organization's activity and development?

Will not reinforced aid from a higher party instance and special, systematic political work yield results?

In the Christopher Table China Plants in Walbrzych, one OOP /branch party organization/ in the two main production departments has 17 members, and the other has 16. But 200 fewer people are employed in the latter department than in the former. To what should we attribute this varying "degree of party membership"?

Here, and also in the Walbrzych Glassworks, for a long time we have been discussing with a group of the most active members the reasons why some OOPs have larger memberships and are clearly more powerful in their actions, while others are flimsy in all respects.

The first consensus concerns the masters and so-called moderate supervision in general. This is really a banal observation, but it bears repeating: in most cases, the master has authority that is not solely strictly professional. Again (as with the matter of a "superior's attitude," raised earlier), the views, behavior and political "face" of this immediate superior in a factory have a profound influence on the work force.

If often happens (as it did in Christopher and the glassworks) that masters are OOP secretaries. But it depends on which secretaries. For the very fact that a master is a secretary, although it is important, by no means always "enhances" an OOP, after all.

"When a master applies similar methods in professional and party work; and when in his party work he attempts to take command, rather than wishing to listen to someone else's opinion, especially a critical opinion, then we soon have a silent, passive unit," says Tadeusz Skitaniak, POP secretary in the glassworks. "The role of the master-secretary surely is not an easy one. He ought to be accommodating and to assist comrades who are involved in social activity, but on the other hand, in no case should he act out of favoritism toward someone only because that person belongs to the party...."

The Workers' Backbone

The second consensus of opinion concerns the "workers' backbone" within the party unit. Comrades from the Christopher plants remark that the OOP in the production department, in which the percentage of rank-and-file workers is small and the percentage of those in a supervisory capacity is large, is clearly weaker.

"The view concerning the significance of a master's or manager's attitude for party work is disputed only on the surface," says Stanislaw Owczarek, first secretary of the Christopher POP. "Only the party activities of the master and

the numerical dominance of the workers in an OOP have a good effect. For the workers speak mainly openly and sharply, they do not beat around the bush, and they enliven the pulse of activity of an organization."

But why are there OOPs with a significant preponderance of "cadre"? An essential part of the truth--as the comrades from Christopher state self-critically--is that, having abandoned former, discredited methods of "acquiring" members, today we even dread encouraging workers to enter the party. We dread, albeit most subtly, proposing to those we know to be decent, honest, ideologically close, and especially, to be "born civic leaders," with energy and a desire for work that is not solely for their own private benefit. But we have to address ourselves to them, to encourage them and show them that they matter to the party. "Subtlety" that is too deep fosters a situation in which the workers party--in the OOP production department--is the workers to too small an extent, and is therefore weak.

It is precisely in the glassworks and Christopher that we find one more cause of the low "degree of party membership": the work forces here are comprised largely of women.

"And women, as we know, are very overburdened with obligations now: home, children, shopping. Even the limited amount of time women have, which they should devote to party participation, deters them from joining it," says Jan Supernat, OOP first secretary at Christopher.

"It probably will be a long time, though, before general living conditions change, and are changed; and before we see some progress in party activity, but we already have the first 'signs': a couple of pledges from young female workers," adds Zenon Mielczarek, secretary of the POP at Christopher.

Our brief, superficial investigation of party work is barely an initial attempt to seek the reasons for our weaknesses. Right up to the end there are more questions than answers explaining matters. But the point is to have these--and subsequent--questions posed in each organization, especially now, during the report-election campaign.

For only a more comprehensive, sharper analysis will lead to a proper diagnosis. And without it, how can we think about treatment?

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HISTORIAN DISCUSSES ROLE OF CONTEMPORARY INTELLIGENTSIA

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 28-30 Oct 83 p4

[Interview with Prof Jan Baszkiewicz by Andrzej Dryszel: "In the Main Stream? On the Side Track? Using the Brain"]

[Text] Leading the country out of the crisis demands the effort of all its classes and social groups. In this process the creative intelligentsia can and should play the most important role. We are discussing today the problems of the contemporary Polish intelligentsia with the historian Prof Jan Baszkiewicz of Warsaw University.

[Question] Professor, how would you assess the role and position of the intelligentsia in socialist Poland?

[Answer] I suggest here that we limit ourselves to the most important segment of the intelligentsia, which I shall call the creative intelligentsia. It serves as a role model and opinion model, having no small influence on the forming of the attitudes and views of our society.

It is characteristic of our intelligentsia that in stable times--some prefer to call them "times of stagnation"--it was eager to limit itself to its private-professional activities, withdrawing from "forum and agora" [public life]. The quickening of its social activity would take place in times of crisis which would, understandably, most often cause a not very positive reaction on the part of the authorities. Even though it was often said that it is not good for the intelligentsia not to be involved and to hide in an ivory tower, in reality the authorities were much more dissatisfied whenever the intelligentsia would leave that ivory tower and disturb the peace.

[Question] Apparently the authorities were anxious then to engage the intelligentsia exclusively in areas approved by them.

[Answer] But not much was done to encourage the intelligentsia even to that unidirectional activity. It was obvious that it would be impossible to limit its participation just to the required areas and thus the best

was made of using the services of the so-called "court intelligentsia." Such a group is always to be found--and often it comprises people of a high intellectual level, who are ready to support and broadcast every move of the authorities.

It is an interesting phenomenon that the government of the people, which in the early postwar years won the support of a large segment of the intelligentsia even though the latter was not enthusiastic about communism, later was not able to find a common language with that group.

[Question] What were the main obstacles in that dialogue?

[Answer] The intelligentsia, even the one which initially loyally collaborated with the new government, began with time to express concern about its position. It decided that it was becoming progressively more difficult honestly to perform its creative work, which obviously requires a certain degree of autonomy. And even though after 1956 the area of its autonomy was broadened significantly, still the people "at the top" were not in favor of creative independence, believing that creativity borders on independence, which obviously often is not true. and so instead of supporting independence they accepted passivity, depicting only certain groups of intelligentsia. This would cause dissatisfaction among other representatives of the intellectual elite, who decided that the forms of official recognition do not coincide with the real order of achievement. There was a lot of truth in this, because often mediocrity was favored while honest achievements were neglected whenever the authors were not "our people."

Sometimes the intelligentsia was apprehensive about the fate of the country and the people as a result of its broader knowledge. Those fears which were expressed, as mentioned before, mostly at times of crisis used to bring additional criticism on the representatives of those circles, which in turn deepened the conflict, creating sometimes a feeling of undeserved injustice.

[Question] It seems that the standing and status of this group is the same or possibly even higher here than in the other countries of our camp. Isn't it a fact then that the Polish intelligentsia is getting frustrated too easily? Is it possible that some remnants of this historic conviction of being the leaders of the nation are playing some part in it?

[Answer] For many years in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Poland did not exist as an independent state, its self-determination being limited. Under those circumstances it is easy to understand how important to the Polish people were literary works, shows or concerts. Let's also mention the conspiracy in which the intelligentsia's participation was very prominent, and although not large in numbers, the intelligentsia played then a very vital role in the life of our nation.

Against this background three models of functions have developed which this social group would be able to fulfill:

- 1) the intelligentsia as a guide and leader of the people, being predestined to this role by its sensitivity, knowledge and imagination;
- 2) as an objective judge, who does not identify with the interests of any one class, and therefore is able to solve arguments, coordinate conflicting interests, mitigate misunderstandings and conflicts;
- 3) the intelligentsia as a group in service of a great idea, or social class almost giving up its own identity. This attitude was born out of a certain guilt feeling for its privileged position in relation to other segments of the population and also out of fear of alienation.

I think that all three models are still functioning among our intelligentsia, though possibly not in such "pure" forms. The tradition of the 19th century intellectual elite is still with us and well remembered.

[Question] Do the countries of Western Europe have this same concept of the role of their intelligentsia?

[Answer] The situation there was completely different. Strong national institutions together with fast growing capitalism did not leave that much room for the intelligentsia to "show off." It became an integral part of the class of the bourgeoisie, considering their interests its own, feeling perfectly well within the mechanism of a capitalist regime. The French bourgeoisie was able to leave the leadership of the Great Revolution to their intellectuals, with peace of mind because they were simply its own people. Even today the same situation prevails. In France as in many other countries the problem of the intelligentsia is practically non-existent.

[Question] Let us attempt an evaluation. What role did the intelligentsia play during the crucial events of the recent years in Poland?

[Answer] The creative intelligentsia has a basic professional obligation to use its brain, its intellect. In the years 1980-1981 a certain segment of our intelligentsia unfortunately did not fulfill that professional obligation. Its representatives stopped noticing the limits of possibility, forgetting that not everything can be achieved, that realistic conditions of political activities must be taken into consideration. A clear gap was created between the necessity of looking at things with a "cool eye" and euphoria and lack of moderation. The past September's test did not come out too well.

[Question] And what is the situation today?

[Answer] I think that still a lot remains to be done for a more effective fulfillment of that professional obligation--of using one's intellect. The intelligentsia must learn realism, keeping cool, responsibility, honesty in thinking.

The chances for an understanding between the intellectuals and the authorities grow better every month. Passions grow cooler, the two sides are beginning a dialogue. It needs intensive care in order to grow. But here also the government must fulfill certain conditions. First of all, the return to a broad, open cultural policy. When looking at the intelligentsia the viewpoint cannot be narrowed down to just an instrumental one, concentrating on utilitarian, immediate social, economic or political advantages, which could be brought about by its creativity.

[Question] But also that narrow utilitarian attitude can triumph. We are living in a technocratic era in which what counts mainly is only that which brings fast and concrete results.

[Answer] The socialist order grew out of protest and reaction to the maltreatment of the working class, reaction supported by the study of social and historic processes. I cannot imagine that we will not need in the future the ability to analyze and forecast historic events. This type of intellectual activity, though, does not show immediately available results.

The importance of the intelligentsia is evaluated not only by the needs of the regime but also by its aims. If such ideological principles of socialism as striving towards the manifold development and total fulfillment of man are treated seriously, then cultural and scientific activity is one of the ways leading to it. It gives great satisfaction to those who are active in this process. They are also learning honesty, tolerance of different viewpoints, independent thinking, respect for truth. These values are important also in open and enlightened socialism. In this sort of regime the part played by us will be as large as we can achieve. It certainly will not be the 19th century model of national leadership. Nevertheless, we should be needed and useful. Still, we must make the fullest use of our creative and intellectual potential and fulfill the duty of using our brains.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Nationwide Inauguration of Party Indoctrination

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 24 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (pi)]

[Text] Last 22 October, Sidra, located in the northeastern extremity of Bialystok, was a scene of the nationwide inauguration of the new year of indoctrination in the country. On the occasion of this celebration, party members from the local and adjacent communes [gmina] met in the GS [Village Cooperative] hall. The inauguration was also attended by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Wladzimierz Kolodziejczuk, first secretary of the party KW [Provincial Committee]; Marian Kukla, president of the Provincial People's Council; and Julian Slarzynski, deputy governor.

Marian Grabala, first secretary of the commune committee in Sidra, presented in his opening speech the latest results of the ideological indoctrination and emphasized a necessity to develop it, considering the social and political needs of Poland and the worsening of international relations.

Distinguished party indoctrination instructors were awarded medals for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism. Z. Michalek, Central Committee secretary, handed them to Maria Bonarska of Nowy Dwor, Ryszard Gutowski and Stanislaw Kulmaczewski of Sidra, Waclaw Gorewicz of Suchowola and Aleksander Mozolewski of Dabrowa Bialostocka. Ten persons were presented with letters of commendation for the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, from the KW PZPR Executive.

Decisions to join the PZPR prove that the indoctrination carries conviction for the inhabitants of the Sidra commune. Last year, 14 candidates were accepted, this year--11. Last Saturday, seven of them were handed party I.D.'s by the Central Committee secretary. Grazyna Mozejko, 25-year-old employee of the Sidra animal clinic, expressed thanks for that and said that she had been interested in party activities; seeing the party's concern about Poland's prosperity, she decided to join the PZPR ranks.

All the speakers at the Sidra celebrations showed great maturity in their political opinions. Maria Narel of Majewo village described how the party

brings its ideology home to the country women. Bernard Gielazyn came up with the opinion that it is not enough to say daring words, they must be supported by deeds, good examples. We should strive to have ideological meetings in the country which have the character of free conversations. In such an atmosphere, rowdyish speeches which occur will not embarrass comrades who have different opinions. Henryk Matulewicz of Dabrowa Bialostocka pointed out a need for a partner-like discussion between the farmer and the authorities. The indoctrination should not be conducted by assenters who just transmit well-rounded slogans, he said. The party policy is evaluated in a tough, polemic debate.

Z. Michalek, Central Committee secretary, spoke during the inauguration. He said he was visiting the Bialystok area for the first time in 27 years and he noticed a big difference in people's awareness. Comrade Michalek shared his reflections from the plenum of the Central Committee regarding ideological topics. In comparing the social statuses of the farmer and the worker, he said that both lived by their own labor and did not exploit anybody. Based on the alliance of farmers and workers, socialism, a system more humane than others, should be built. In conjunction with ZSL [United Peasant Party], the farmers' party, a program of agricultural development was outlined, insuring equal treatment of all forms of land property. The indoctrination will also be conducted by both parties--PZPR and ZSL.

The new year of ideological indoctrination in the country was inaugurated in Sidra by Dr Mikolaj Hapunik's lecture on today's meaning of the alliance between workers and farmers.

After the celebrations in Sidra, Comrade Z. Michalek visited the farm of Henryk Sienkiewicz in Podhorany, and then stopped at the swine farm in Krasniany, owned by the PGR [State Farm] in Sokolka. He met also with representatives of social and economic management of that PGR.

Everyone Knows His Place in Party

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 24 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Marek Trzebiatowski]

[Text] "It's not a factory, it's a mess, a great big mess!" a middle-aged man kept ranting in front of the cashier's window. After counting his money scrupulously, he waved his hand and left the factory. According to the cashier's explanation, this was his last paycheck at Ceramika Wloclawek Ceramic Works [WZCS]. He quit because both he and his superiors saw no point in continuing their cooperation. At Ceramika, they stress not only the exaction of performance, a conscious cooperation of the other part is necessary too. Then, there is good atmosphere at work, good execution of production tasks. This plan, however, is not easy to be practically carried into effect.

Mutual Responsibility

"We realize," says Krzysztof Grzadziel, first secretary of the KZ PZPR [PZPR Plant Committee], "that an idyllic atmosphere in the factory is sheer utopia. It is not the point. We want every worker, whether he is a party member or not, to feel he is a cooriginator of and to genuinely influence at the same time the life of Ceramika. In other words, so that everybody wants to do his bit for the results of the common work, assuming the responsibility for his actions."

Is the opinion of the first secretary shared by the workers? I tried to find an answer to this question in a few shops of the WZCS porcelain department.

In a small room of one painting shop several women are busy decorating porcelain china. Silent and concentrated, the painter Danuta Lanek is surprised when I ask her about the atmosphere at work. "Here, normally no one talks about it," she answers, "although we often realize ourselves that we are too irritated and nervous. You know, as many characters, as many people. Most of my female colleagues have long seniority, they are understanding of each other because in a small team it cannot be otherwise. In our brigade, everybody has clearly specified tasks to accomplish, that is why it is easier to understand each other. Aren't there any problems? There are, but they are solved by the foremen and manager, further interventions are unnecessary. If young women come to a brigade like ours, they submit to the regulations in force."

"In a six-person brigade each keeps an eye on the other," says Jozef Slaskiewicz, a furnace operator. "Yes, we have conflicts but the job has to be done. All the more so as in such a brigade remaining anonymous is out of the question. It is clear who did what and how much he earned."

Irena Winicka, a molder, met various people while working at Ceramika for 16 years. Now, she has two younger colleagues in her care. "In spite of the age difference," she says, "we understand well each other. They have the same problems as I do--to carry out the planned production at the factory and another 100 percent at home."

Let Only Work Be There

It is hard to believe that the atmosphere in Ceramika departments is so good. During my fourth, fifth and next conversations I hear, however, no specific complaints regarding coworkers, factory management or social organizations. Many people talk about frequent, and productive in the first place, contacts with the party KZ. Fabian Wysocki, who works with the internal transportation, asked about problems, replies irritated: "What problems? Let only work be there, then the earnings will be better. Shortage of people, that is the problem! Anyone who loafers will not stay long here. I do not mind if the young earn as much as experienced workers but they have also to work as much as they do. Nobody can feel offended if they make him toil because what is most depressing and discouraging is to see people careless about their work."

It is in the foundry, one of the hardest departments of Ceramika, that I become convinced that a good work organization and proper supplies of materials are of great importance. It is one of the hardest departments because, among others, turnover and absenteeism run high here. Of 78 workers, more than 20 are on sick leave, maternity leave, etc. "It comes to a clash," says Roman Czmara, a caster, "when assortment or someone's position are changed. One has then to get accustomed to the new job and no one likes that. We work by the job and exceeding standards brings us a bonus from the motivation fund." "There are people in the department," says Renata Rutkowska, a foreman, "who come to the factory at 5 in the morning and leave an hour after the shift is over. They simply want to earn more."

Wages: A Remedy for Everything?

A job related to wages is a topic appearing in all conversations and discussions. It would be wrong, however, to claim that wages are a panacea for all production problems. What is extremely important is the work atmosphere and conditions in which the work goes on. At Ceramika, one can see clearly that by means of smaller collectives whose members know each other very well it is possible to obtain an optimum situation, i.e., in which work effects go hand-in-hand with good relations between people. Inherent in this process must be, however, a concern about the work organization and about the supplies of materials in the first place.

Good workers' opinions on the relations between people did not put the PZPR KZ to sleep. During the recent plenary session it passed a resolution on integration of the factory community and on improvement of ideological and educational work. There are plans, therefore, to work out new forms and methods for the current cooperation between all organizations, as well as to widen the scope of internal consultations. Soon, the KZ will organize a course for medium-level operating personnel. Its aim will be to clearly define the place and role of foremen in the factory. Implementation of the economic reform also requires more aggressiveness. Full information about its effects as well as about factory problems is a task to which the KZ has to give more thought. The factory's broadcasting network is not used efficiently so far.

The workers' life does not end with the work. Party plans include them in all forms of recreation and rest, favoring perfectly integration of the Ceramika workers. A counteraction to the big turnover is also considered, as only a stabilized, experienced crew warrants good economic performance.

Results of Opole Main Territorial Inspectorate

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 24 Oct 83 p 3

[Statement by the KW PZPR Executive in Opole, Opole, 20 October 1983]

[Text] In the last Friday's issue of TO, we published a report from the proceedings of the KW PZPR [PZPR Provincial Committee] Executive, in which we mentioned that one of the points on the agenda was presentation of the results

of the inspection conducted in our province by the GIT [Main Territorial Inspectorate]. Below, we present the stand of the Executive in that matter.

1. From 3 to 10 October 1983, the GIT conducted an inspection controlling Opole Province.

The inspection was conducted in 2 cities, 10 city-communes [gmina] and 6 communes. The Governor's Offices, 63 offices of the state administration local organs and self-management organizations, 28 state-owned enterprises at the provincial level, and 93 at the basic level were investigated.

In its comments after the inspection, GIT stated that a progressing process of stabilization of the sociopolitical situation is visible in the province. Work discipline is improving, especially in industrial plants, state farms and in some cooperatives. Current economic tasks of the province are being solved relatively correctly, gradation of needs and scale of possibilities being taken into consideration. Trade unions are growing systematically and already comprise 35 percent of the entire work force. Cells of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal [PRON] are growing active, too. Attitudes of mistrust toward the authorities, of indifference and sitting and waiting are gradually disappearing, while support for the government sociopolitical and anticrisis policy is tending to increase. The social commitment of working people is also reflected in their reactions to such phenomena as waste, inappropriate work organization and informal personal connections, still existing in some professional milieus. The authorities of the province, a province with great experience and tradition, have not taken actions proportional to their possibilities. This is reflected in an insufficiently energetic guiding of basic organizations, not very much coherent planning, and a poor exaction of the realization of tasks. It was lax in discipline regarding the execution of many important projects, including postinspection recommendations.

People's attitudes and reactions to work, which is a fundamental duty, require urgent changes. In many inspected places, especially cooperatives, there is a striking, highly condemnable disrespectful attitude toward work and equipment, which is all the worse as it is rewarded with earnings much higher than in the state economy. Numerous examples of waste and uneconomical behavior prove that in this field of activities there has been a retrogression in Opole Province.

Despite great efforts made by the Governor's Offices and most local offices of the state administration in order to carry into effect the recommendations of the Military Forces Inspectorate, tangible effects are insignificant. The schedules that have been prepared are too vague, sketchy. The control of their execution, carried out at the provincial level, was too superficial. Consequently, most recommendations of the Military Forces Inspectorate had no chance of being realized. In some areas, such as functioning and management efficiency of local offices of the state administration, municipal services and transportation, there has been even degradation in comparison to the situation found during the Military Forces Inspectorate survey. Of eight

fields that were controlled, three were graded as unsatisfactory, four as barely satisfactory and only one (agriculture) as satisfactory. Basing itself on the submitted documentation, the GIT decided that there was no foundation for crediting the controlling inspection.

The KW Executive ascertains that the inspection has confirmed fundamental weaknesses and negligence existing in our province as a result of longstanding negligence, wrong investment trends and insufficient efforts to solve them today.

2. The results of the GIT inspection, published in the newspapers (TO and RZECZPOSPOLITA) surprised or even shocked a considerable part of Opole Province inhabitants, especially those who are characterized by diligence, discipline, concern about law and order. The basic assumption about the Opole Province inhabitants' economical character being a major factor conditioning a good performance in agriculture, industry and esthetics, has been largely jeopardized. We do not want to and we should not abandon this assumption because it is a real fact that a majority of society does show those characteristics.

Our political and administrative actions should be geared to make good management universal, we will eliminate incompetent, lenient people, especially from executive positions.

3. Considering the criticism of the functioning and management efficiency in the state and economic administration, the KW Executive expects the leadership of the Governor's Offices to make consistent personnel changes in the executive positions of the Governor's Offices and offices of the basic level, as well as in those establishments answerable to the Opole governor which got negative appraisals from the GIT.

As for the establishments not answerable to the governor, it is necessary to file personnel requests with their superiors.

As far as the governor and his deputies are concerned, the KW Executive will take its position after the Bureau of the Cabinet presents its recommendations to it.

4. A detailed plan of insuring realization of the GIT recommendations will be submitted by the Opole governor to the KW Executive by next 10 November, and mayors of cities, city-communes will submit them to the executive boards of first degree by next 30 October.

5. The GIT results should be discussed at a meeting with the first secretaries of the PZPR city, city-commune and commune committees and ROPP [Regional Centers for Party Work] directors, as well as during sessions of the executive boards of first degree, by next 30 October.

6. KM [city committee], KMG [city-commune committee], KG [commune committee], KZ [plant committee] and POP [Basic Party Organization] are obligated hereby to support state and economic administrative actions related to disciplining persons responsible for serving people, good management, law and order.

7. To develop--through political, administrative and social actions--comprehensive educational activities, stimulating the Opole Province society, as regards, especially, thrift, economical management, maintaining law and order, and development of collective, free-of-charge projects.

PZPR Provincial Committee Executive in Opole
Opole, 20 October 1983

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Gorzow Executive Sessions

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 10 Nov '83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (se): "From the Conference of PZPR KW [Provincial Committee's] Executive Board in Gorzow; Evaluation of the State of Culture in the Countryside; Activities of the Countryside POP's; Realization of Motions and Demands Before the PZPR KW Plenum"]

[Text] Yesterday, 9 November, the PZPR KW's Executive Board in Gorzow held a field trip session in Choszczno. The main subject of the session, the evaluation of the state of properties and activities of countryside cultural and educational centers, has been preceded by the inspection of a number of the community's clubs, cultural centers and libraries. Participating in the session were representatives of the provincial instances of ZSL, ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and the ZMW, of the management of the Provincial Office's Department of Culture and Art, WZSR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives], TWP, RSW [Workers Cooperative Publishing House] "Prasa" and the political-administrative authorities of the city and community. The basic point of the discussion was the evaluation of the realization in Gorzow Province of the 11th PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Chief Committee Plenum Resolution on culture in the countryside; the evaluation has been prepared by the PZPR KW's Ideological Commission and the ZSL KW's Commission for Education, Culture and Social Affairs. The second subject of the discussion was the Report of the Provincial Office's Department of Culture about the present realization of the resolution of the Provincial People's Council in Gorzow last November on the future development of culture in Gorzow Province until 1990. Both the report and the discussion presented a broad view of the present situation of countryside culture in Gorzow Province and the activities of the institutions and organizations which are responsible for the culture, aiming at the reformation of shortcomings in the culture's material base and at the animation and expansion of substantial activities of the cultural-educational centers in the countryside.

The executive board appreciated the efforts made so far and the involvement of the provincial and local administrations, educational authorities, social and youth organizations, as well as regional cultural societies, in creating a general network of basic centers and propagating culture among the inhabitants

of the countryside. The executive board also stated that the scope of tasks in this field continues to be broad, because it is still far from a general fulfillment of the needs of this milieu to participate in culture. Tasks related to a continuing cultural activization of the countryside of Gorzow were embraced in the motions, presented jointly by PZPR KW and ZSL KW commissions for problems and adopted by the executive board at the end of the session.

In the second part of the session, the executive board heard the report on the organizational situation, political activities and course of the reports-elections campaign in countryside POP's [Basic Party Organization]. It was found that in the activities of many POP's in the countryside there are still many weaknesses and shortcomings and, therefore, both the province's instance and basic instances of the PZPR should continuously lend them the necessary aid. Motions and tasks to be fulfilled during the fall and winter period, which aim at the increase of the activeness of countryside POP's and their participation in solving problems of the countryside and thus in realization of the 11th PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Chief Committee Plenum resolutions, were adopted.

In the next part of the session the executive board heard a report on the work of the Interdepartmental Group of the PZPR Central Committee for Realization of Motions and Postulates. This group was created in July 1982 and its activities are aimed at introducing the decisions of the Ninth PZPR Plenum resolution on how to deal with motions presented during party meetings, complaints and postulates addressed to party committees by citizens, and on the control and survey of their fulfillment by the responsible administrative and economic units. A detailed evaluation of the realization of this resolution and the analysis of complaints and motions and of how to take care of them will be done during the coming plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The executive board approved the preliminary materials and the organizational preparations for its plenum, which was planned for the 25th of this month.

Campaign on Party, Community

Bydgoszcz GAZETA PROMORSKA in Polish 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Articles by (jb), (BA) and (mat): "Problems That Are Disturbing the Party and Society"]

[Text] The reports-elections campaign in Inowroclaw moves now from the department party organizations [OOP] to the basic party organizations [POP]. Until the end of the last week, reports-elections meetings took place in about 60 OOP's and more than 20 POP's.

Most of the problems raised in discussions thus far were related to the problems of the closest surroundings. The discussions on party problems concerned mainly party schooling, party tasks and discipline. In the recent period, some of the debaters called attention to problems connected with the circumstances of the recent decision on bringing back controlled distribution of butter, lard and margarine.

Critical remarks were addressed to city authorities because of the disorder in streets and settlements. More consistent action against alcohol abuse was demanded. The activities of agents' stores and prices demanded for some articles, particularly industrial products, were often a subject of discussion. There were even voices calling for closing these stores or not issuing licenses for running agents' stores to people with university degrees. It was also asked when and how consultations on the planned increase of food prices would be held.

As a result of elections in a dozen or so OOP's and POP's, their first secretaries were changed. Nearly half of the comrades elected to the executive boards are new.

* * *

The reports-elections meetings campaign in OOP's and POP's in the city and communes of Tuchola has been completed, with a total of 51 meetings of OOP's and 12 of POP's.

During the meeting of the countryside OOP in Stobno, the systematics of organizational work was appreciated; during its last term the organization had 25 meetings, including 4 open meetings and 2 organized jointly with the ZSL group. The fulfillment of demands addressed by the OOP to the City and Commune Office in Tuchola was criticized. As examples, the construction of a new side road in the village has not been started (the inhabitants offered their assistance), drainage projects were not completed, the fire basin has not been cleaned. There are still frequent malfunctions of the telephone line. Other complaints were also discussed: the need for laying a sidewalk from the school to the village for the sake of children's safety; the lack of a road between Stobno and Zalno. At the suggestion of ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work] in Tuchola, the above problems will be discussed this week, with the participation of involved parties.

The OOP members also criticized the quantities of controlled articles allowances for countryside children.

A substantial part of the discussion was devoted to problems of the consolidation of the party and or propagating culture in countryside conditions.

Michał Skalecki, the first secretary of the PZPR City and Commune Committee in Tuchola, who participated in the meeting, highly appreciated the activity of the OOP and its secretary, Comrade Czesław Sugalski, who will continue to act as secretary during the new term.

* * *

The reports-elections meetings in 34 POP's of the Piotrkow Kujawski Commune will end 14 November. These organizations have 639 party members.

Last Tuesday the 2½-year-term of the OOP at the Regional Dairy Cooperative in Piotrkow Kujawski was summed up. The increase of the OOP's importance, concrete realization of motions and demands and activities aimed at increasing

confidence in the party's actions were discussed. Everyday problems were also a subject of discussion, e.g., the supply of food and industrial articles. As a result of elections, Julianna Piskorska will continue to act as OOP first secretary.

In the Drumet Cables and Wire Factory in Wloclawek a reports meeting of OOP No 8 took place, because due to the reduced number of factory's OOP's from 10 to 8 it has been decided not to organize joint election meetings until the second turn.

During the reports forum organizational activities of the party's enterprise committee were criticized. It was pointed out that the direct contact with workers at their work posts was insufficient. Also the informational activity and the realization of the OOP's demands by the executive board are weak.

Formation of Workers Federation

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with Wieslaw Siewierski, chairman of the Founding Committee of the Thermal Power Industry Workers Trade Unions Federation, by Boleslaw Aszklar: "We Want To Be a Federation of Strong Unions"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The session of the First Congress of Thermal Power Industry Workers Trade Unions Federation begins in Bydgoszcz today. This means that you have completed the preparatory stage of organization. What are the effects of this stage?

[Answer] The Federation comprises 36 of the existing 37 Thermal Power Industry Workers Trade Unions. These unions have about 10,000 members, compared with the total number of employees in the 46 enterprises belonging to our branch equalling approximately 40,000. When talking about the results of our activity, it has to be mentioned that representatives of no more than 13 unions participated in the first meeting that initiated the formation of our federation on 17 May 1983. The activities of the founding committee were not limited to endeavors for calling the federation into being. The members of the committee offered advice when unions were organized in enterprises where the process was running slowly, they also helped to consolidate already existing organizations. We want to be a federation of strong trade unions, because this is the only way to build a strong federation. Not underestimating the value of other organizations, I think that we can already list the following strong trade union organizations as those in the thermal power enterprises in Radom, Szczecin, Bialystok, Olsztyn, Opole, and also here, in Bydgoszcz.

[Question] Is it difficult to form a federation?

[Answer] It is very difficult, of course. But real satisfaction is given at the moment of the registration, by the awareness of a moment when the many-month-long effort results in the birth of an organization that will be helpful to thousands of unionists.

What was making the organization of the federation easier? The employees of our enterprises were won over to this idea by the conviction that a federation provides a chance to talk in a loud voice about the problems of our narrow professional group. In the former system of branch unions, we belonged to the Municipal Administration Workers Trade Union, a conglomerate of exceptionally numerous trades and enterprises, having not too much in common. Each voice in this trade union was a marginal one and our voice did not break through the other ones.

The biggest difficulties were caused by organizational endeavors, the necessity to follow formal and legal requirements. But we overcame these difficulties thanks to the devotion and commitment of activists from all over Poland, e.g., Czeslaw Bak from Jastrzebie, Jerzy Braun from Poznan, Jozef Gelej from Opole, Krystyna Kowalska from Wloclawek, Eugenia Markiewicz from Bialystok, Zdzislaw Mirowski from Bielsko-Biala, Wladyslaw Pioro from Szczecin, Halina Plontke from Walbrzych, Stefan Szczepanski from Radom, and Tadeusz Tobiszewski from Cracow.

The registration procedure is difficult, particularly for us, who have neither the experience nor routine of the former union activists. We are grateful, therefore, for the benevolence manifested during the formation of our federation by director Bajcer, Ph.D., of the State Council's Legal Office and Professor Salve, of the Social Consulting Commission in Warsaw. When I was presenting our cause at the State Council, I was received also--to my great surprise--by the President of the PRL State Council, Prof Henryk Jablonski. Our conversation was symptomatic of his great friendliness toward the union movement and, as far as I know, accelerated the process of the registration of our federation.

[Question] Despite the fact that you have been dealing with the union movement for just a short time, you have already gained a lot of experience. What advice could be offered to activists who are now trying to organize federations?

[Answer] First of all, they should be very well acquainted with the bill on trade unions and win the support of people proficient in interpreting the entries of this bill. The process aimed at creating a federation has to be governed, in particular, by realities and concrete things. At the beginning, independent unions are to be consolidated and if they don't exist, new ones should be organized. Only in this way is it possible to avoid bringing into being artificial creations, fronts with no background.

[Question] The trade unions are striving to gain a so-called "breakthrough" strength. Don't you think that this motive will be repeated continuously, especially in the case of smaller federations, until there will once more emerge the former union colossuses?

[Answer] Sir, I have argued many times for the existence of union federations for less numerous trades. In this connection, there will certainly emerge the problem of collaboration between federations. That is why we have already invited to our first congress representatives of the federations of the following trade unions: municipal transport enterprises, with its seat in Warsaw;

water supply and sewage system enterprises, with seat in Katowice; city scavenging companies from Wroclaw, and municipal and site administration from Warsaw. We have a common ministry and in many cases we will have to have a common opinion as unionists.

There are no doubts that the efficiency of activities inside individual federations will have to improve. It is difficult to imagine that prior to undertaking each decision the federation will call a session or gain the approval of all unions. But these are problems for the future. The unionists will determine by themselves the areas of competence.

[Question] Recently, different opinions have appeared on this problem, so do you think that there is any possibility of a "peaceful" coexistence between trade unions and enterprise managements?

[Answer] Such coexistence is not only possible, it is indispensable. It is necessary for the social interests of working people and the state's economy. A crisis is not a good time for quarrels. I will give you an example from my own bailiwick, the Provincial Thermal Power Enterprise. The collaboration is good and many unionists from all the country "peeped" at our enterprise for a way to solve many problems. And that means that it is possible to coexist. Rendering unto Ceasar the things which are Caesar's, I must say that the managers of our enterprise, Janusz Sygnecki and Zdzislaw Wiewiora, also made a pretty big contribution in the promotion of the work of the federation's founding committee. But why should the managers of enterprises not feel themselves unionists, even if they don't have any functions in the union....

[Question] You have today the congress of your federation. What will happen after the congress?

[Answer] First of all, the federation must continue to help and coordinate actions, not impressing anything on the independent unions. During the first stage, time should be devoted to organizational problems and to the consolidation of unions and federations. The problems of finances and property can be put by for later, when the federation proves in action its usefulness. The program of works for the future will be set by the present congress.

Party Conference on Economizing

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Zefiryn Jedrzynski: "When Small Bonuses Be Paid for Efficient Administration? From the PZPR Conference"]

[Text] Many problems of the staff and enterprise, but also problems concerning all inhabitants of Janikowo were discussed, e.g., trade and its deficiencies, the housing shortage and shortcomings of the local administration. These discussions were right, because it is difficult to separate problems of the Janikowo Soda Works [JZS] working force from the problems of the town. Each family living in Janikowo has its representative among the 2,000 employees of the works. Thus, the problems had to appear jointly even at the enterprise's PZPR reports-elections conference. It has always been thus.

But much more attention than in the past was paid by the conference to ideological problems relating to the staff and the whole party, as well as to the international situation.

The paper presented by Andrzej Szczutkowski, first secretary of the PZPR enterprise committee was also composed in the same manner. It is difficult not to relate to the worldwide political situation when the policy of tensions created by the United States and its allies is expanding. After all, the missiles deployed in Europe by the United States are dangerous to all of us, also including the politically blind people shouting here and there in our country:

"Reagan is with us!" We have to agree with the pensionist Adam Derkowski, who was terrified explaining to his granddaughter how many people can be killed by a single missile with a nuclear warhead. The child was also terrified and it is strange that some people do not see the danger. The comrades talked about the necessity of undertaking international talks concerning the danger of a conflict, the danger of a war. The people should be informed about the possible results of Reagan's politics and of the increasing importance of the USSR's efforts aiming at the reduction of armaments. The people should also be reminded of the importance of our alliance with the USSR, as Irena Raczynska rightly and cogently said.

The JZS has always worked rhythmically and there was not a single day of work stoppage, even when strikes for any reason were running wild in Poland. But there were also problems in the JZS. The party was worried that a group of its members left the party ranks, although the number of party members is still high: there are 505 comrades among 2,000 employees and this means that every fourth worker has a PZPR card.

During the reporting period, 43 memberships were canceled, 18 members were excluded from the party, but 11 new candidates were accepted. This number is not high with relation to the possibilities, but high when considering the difficult months of political struggle. There is no worry about those party members who found themselves in the party by accident. But it is an uneasy feeling in view of those who lost their confidence in the party. There was drawn a single conclusion, but the right one: each problem should be discussed with the party members. And particularly during the meetings of OOP's [Departmental Party Organizations], which do not work in an equal manner. This problem was criticized by the first secretary of the PZPR City and Commune Committee in Janikowo, Jacek Turkowski, and discussed in a critical and self-critical manner by Bogdan Parada, Zdzislaw Kwiatkowski, Wieslaw Walkowski, Eugeniusz Foss, Waclaw Kolodziejki. All of them agreed, and this found its expression in the resolution, that in the OOP forum, during the meetings and instruction periods organized there, should be discussed the main problems of the party and its program. And the party-oriented attitude should also be hardened.

Political views should not be formed by reading instructional lectures, as someone said, but in open, so-called "Man-like," that means quite simply party-oriented discussions. The 13th Central Committee Plenum, together with presenting a group of problems concerning ideological activities of the party, indicated what should be dealt with in the internal hardening of the party and expanding its influence on the society. All links of the party must pay more

attention to this problem than until now. And the instruction should be carried out by engineers and people with masters' degrees because it is impossible to manage a specialistic unit without being concerned about how reasonable the people are.

The party should support the youth union and all social organizations. There are active links of the ZSMP, as it was stated, e.g., by Andrzej Lukowski, Bogdan Parada, Tadeusz Lepski (these groups are taking care of housing problems, they collect means earned by overtime work, organize recreational undertakings). The same links also recommended candidates to the party, as, e.g., in the salt packing department. But there are also weaker groups. Since 75 percent of party members are active in ZSMD groups, the results should be better. This problem is of great importance to the party, as is the rebirth of enterprise's women commissions, demanded by Anna Plocinska.

The trade union organization in the JZS has more than 1,000 members and 900 of them are employed at present. It is not a few, because it constitutes about 50 percent of the whole working force. They undertake and solve, as Henryk Swiatkowski said, the problems that are important to the staff.

Although the JZE has a number of production achievements and, resulting of this fact, profits, nevertheless the people are asking for the solution of many social problems, and first of all they ask: when shall bonuses be paid for efficient administration?

There are reasons for this question. By the agency of PZPR Provincial Committee in Bydgoszcz, the problem found its way to the central level. The problem has also been discussed during the PZPR reports-elections conference (by Zdzislaw Michalski, Edward Skorupinski, Eugeniusz Foss, Henryk Kalica). Understanding of the problem was also expressed by Vice Minister Marian Skoczynski. He confirmed that the JZS is working in the most rhythmical way among enterprises of the same branch in Poland, they have also the best results and overfulfilled the plans for soda and salt production. When the market needed washing powder, they started the production of this article. Next year, the works will start the production of cosmetic powder--very important to the country and for export purposes. It may sound unbelievable, but until now cosmetic powder has been imported by Poland. Beginning next year, Janikowo will cover 100 percent of domestic needs for toothpaste and there will even be small quantities for export.

It was stressed in the party's discussion that the workers feeling is that injustice is being done with relation to their wages. They have worked rhythmically, and were never out on strikes. There exist in the works some reserves for increased production (in organization and technical progress), but they are rather small. But other words, where the tasks have not been fulfilled and the work runs now more or less rhythmically achieve better and better production indexes, and the indexes are accompanied by higher incentive bonuses. So when shall bonuses be paid for a regular, systematic, everyday efficient administration?

Fine, the problem has been recorded. On the recommendation of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Minister Stanislaw Ciosek took care of the case. A solution must be found, because the staff has a feeling of injustice because...of its work. Also the principles of allowances for work clothing should be more elastic and provide more frequent exchange of clothing for employees working in difficult conditions and having their clothes wear out faster.

The principles of paying so-called "sick leave assistance" should also be considered.

In the four-shift and piece rate system of work even the sick ones do not go to bed, because the compensation is based on only the basic salary and not the total income. The comrades asked also for a better supply for the stores in Janikowo. It is not only a problem of the employees, but also of a better mood at home, which influences the atmosphere in the workplace.

Many more subjects were discussed. And rightly. Because all human problems are important to the party.

* * *

The achievements of the party, as well as the inefficiencies, were discussed. They were not neglected in the statement of the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Henryk Bednarski. This statement was, in general, very positive toward the JZS staff. In a commentary on the conference it is difficult to add something to the voices of its participants. Some comrades, when asked in the halls about the inefficiencies, answered that there are weaknesses in the work of the party and these weaknesses were illustrated by the conference. "Sir, the conference was on a higher level than the everyday work of our party," one of the delegates told me and another confirmed it.

What is the source of this situation? I was told that the presence of many guests was the cause of the substantial tone of the discussion; also the fact of the membership of Comrade Henryk Bednarski, who not only participates scrupulously in the meetings of his OOP, but also comes often to Janikowo, contributed to the tone of the conference. But first of all--as was stressed--it was the result of the discussions and the course of the reports-elections campaign in group and department party organizations.

This is a very good evidence of the party's ideological and political animation as a result of this campaign and a proof that the aims set by the party in the reports debate and accompanying elections was achieved.

12376
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ROLE OF SOCIOLOGISTS IN INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT DESCRIBED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 83 pp 3,4

[Article by Irena Witanska: "A Successful Experiment; Who Needs a Sociologist"]

[Text] In the 1960's the major factories began to employ sociologists. After all, it is a known fact that there has to be someone in a major enterprise with professional training in the field of social analysis. This is because it is difficult to care for the proper functioning of an industrial organization of many thousands of people without a basic knowledge of the social processes going on in it. In a work, it was expected that the sociologists would help to establish proper interpersonal relationships in the factory, and help to solve various problems vexing to enterprise administration.

The initiative, based on pertinent state regulations on the need to create so-called social analysis cells in large industrial plants, bore fruit in the appearance of some 100 offices employing psychologists as well as sociologists. How do they acquitted themselves of their tasks? We tried to find the answer to this question in the Warszawa Metalworks, where a little less than 2 years ago they reactivated the Laboratory for Psychology and Social Analysis, currently called the Sociological Laboratory.

At that time they employed a sociologist with a doctorate and with 7 years of scientific experience at Poznan University. The metalworks administration was concerned that the laboratory be run by a young and energetic person, but one with a certain amount of living and experience. Dr Pawel Ruszkowski met these conditions.

Concrete Activities

The plant director, Tadeusz Konrad, says: "One of the first decisions after I took the position of director was to hire a highly qualified sociologist. I believe that a modern plant requires a real sociological cell. In order to administer a large enterprise effectively, the director must constantly have up-to-date knowledge on the most varied problems occurring in the plant. Honest, reliable information about the plant is a necessary

condition for making sound decisions. I require the sociologists to provide exactly such information without regard to whether it is to my liking or not."

The Warszawa Metalworks, like every large industrial plant, is a complicated organism: 317 hectares in area, 80 km of railroad track, and more than 30 billion zlotys worth of roads and equipment. The extensive social infrastructure includes cafeterias, a medical clinic and even its own greenhouses and livestock stalls. There are about 10,000 employees. This means that the plant is a living organism and reacts to working conditions on a broad scale in a lively way. These conditions not only mean efficiently operated machinery, protective clothing and social facilities, but also a workplace atmosphere appreciated more and more.

There is no lack of spectacular examples of this: in one of the departments 5 workers from a 30-person team quit at the same time. Dr Ruszkowski, who investigated the situation, said that the reason for the quitting was bad relations between the boss and the workers. Actually it was a matter of a boss' vulgarity toward his subordinates. The efforts of the sociologist produced the result that three of the workers resumed their jobs, the boss changed his approach, and the atmosphere improved. This kind of emergency action is rather sporadic and does not necessarily end with success, but in everyday life management is good if the sociologist is able to observe any faultiness and react properly. This requires a basic knowledge of the plant and the confidence of the workers.

Before Dr Ruszkowski was able to develop the program of activity for the complete sociological laboratory, in which three sociologists and two psychologists are currently working, he devoted one-half year to becoming acquainted with the plant. He also spent several weeks working as a worker in one of the departments because, as he says: "The observations of a participant make it possible to feel the nature and climate of the plant fastest and best." Then he proceeded to develop inquiries and questionnaires which are now almost routine on the most varied subjects.

One of the first inquiries, conducted in March of this year, concerned the relations between the work force and worker self-government. It was then shown that, contrary to general opinion, there were many supporters of self-government, i.e., 65 percent of the work force. Somewhat more special are the monthly questionnaires on the subject of the relationships between the work force and the departmental worker councils. For example, one conducted in July in Department W-30 enabled attention to be directed both toward some matters associated directly with production, for example, on symptoms of uneconomical management in using machinery and equipment, and also concrete tasks to be formulated for the department council. Among other things, it is recommended that newly employed young people have a conversation with a member of the worker council. The purpose of this is to provide better care for young people assuming a rather hard job in the foundry. Difficulties in adapting cause many young people to become discouraged after a short time and leave. This is an important problem: of the trade school graduates who

took a job in the plant during the past 10 years, today only 20 percent remain! Therefore, the youth organization has entrusted to the Sociological Laboratory the conduct of special research for the purpose of finding the causes of this phenomenon which is so unfavorable for the plant.

Here is another example. For a long time it was thought necessary for the plant to establish a so-called reserve administration cadre. It is well known that the old cadre fades away, and that people leave on retirement and pensions. Where will their successors come from? Obviously the best source is the work force itself. In order to select persons with the proper vocational qualifications and personal dispositions, the Sociological Laboratory conducted research in all departments and developed psychological tests. The principles and criteria for advancement were made clear, and it was also established that someone from outside should take a management position only if the necessary specialty could not be found in the plant.

Thanks to Research

Director Konrad makes a very positive evaluation of the achievements of the Sociological Laboratory so far. He says that, thanks to the research conducted by this laboratory, he is able to grasp in a more thorough manner the various problems involving both the functioning of the plant and personnel matters. Holidays, problems in the plant housing (the foundry has its own residential blocks), transportation to work and the situation of worker-peasants employed in the plant are only some of the examples of research which extend the subject beyond the limits of the factory.

Andrzej Milkowski, the chairman of the worker council, expresses a similar opinion: "Our council does not want to operate in a vacuum, groping in the dark, but on the basis of competent research, made honestly, on the opinions of the work force on various subjects concerning the plant community."

It should be added that the activities of the Sociological Laboratory are discussed not only with the director and the worker council, but also with the PZPR Factory Committee and the Administration of ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union], which usually respond in an active way to proposals made by the laboratory. Only the trade unions, despite repeated proposals, do not take advantage of the Sociological Laboratory services.

If it were desired to show the concrete results of the sociologists' work for the factory, it would be rather difficult. "Our work cannot be measured," says Dr Ruszkowski. "Through our research we prepare the groundwork for making sound decisions. We may even suggest solutions, but the decisions do not belong to us. If during the past 8 months the foundry has achieved better production conditions, has exceeded the plan, has increased productivity and as a result has been able to give the people raises, we naturally can not give ourselves the credit in this respect, but it is also difficult to

state that our work did not indirectly contribute to it. Personally, I think that if the sociologists' work, naturally well organized, is taken seriously by management and social organizations in the plant, it cannot help having a positive effect on the entire situation in the plant and on production outcomes.

Problems to Be Solved

What does a factory sociologist have to complain about? Primarily about his status, about being treated as an administrative worker, which results from a misunderstanding of the specifics of a sociologist's work. A sociologist, like any other white-collar worker, works during definite hours. If he wants to investigate, let us say, problems occurring in a four-brigade work system and, in connection with this, must be present on an afternoon or night shift, he can do so within the framework of his own private investigative desires, because such situations are not considered in the work network or in work organization. There are also difficulties in participating in scientific symposia organized by educational institutions, often in other localities. Usually a factory does not grant leave for such purposes, to say nothing of setting up a delegation, although it seems that employers should support the upgrading of their workers' qualifications. Participation in scientific undertakings is a form of advanced training for a plant sociologist. Certainly the factory does not provide such possibilities.

Finally, there is one general comment to be made. At various meetings devoted to management problems, it can be heard that in recent times some enterprises have allowed the sociological laboratories be neglected or even be removed. The successful experiment in the Warszawa Metalworks shows that it would be better to see to the formation of conditions favoring the development of this form of counseling in the area of organization and administration, which the sociological-psychological cell in an industrial plant undoubtedly provides. The highly developed industrial countries employ many sociologists in their enterprises, for example, several thousand in England. It appears that this pays off. It is worth reflecting on whether it would not pay in our country.

Postscript

One matter came up in connection with the above article which is not directly concerned with the basic subject. This is the difficulties made for journalists in seeking information. Dr Ruszkowski conditioned his conversation with me on the approval of the foundry director. The director's secretary, in turn, asked for a letter from the editorial staff. Why? "So there is some support." I went to the director with the required letter. I asked whether there are any particular reasons for which the administration of the Warszawa Metalworks had to have such a letter. "There are none," responded the director, "but we simply want to note it in our records." When I observed that this entire bureaucratic operation is inconsistent with regulations and delays the work of the reporter and the editors, and that I

had tried to get this "conversation facilitation" for several days, the director promised to analyze the matter.

Actually, there is nothing here which needs analyzing, and it is sufficient to follow the regulations, which clearly state that a superior must not subject a conversation of a subordinate to his approval. In addition, the reporter's authorization is the only document which the reporter uses to meet professional obligations.

6806
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POLAND

'SECRET CIRCULAR' OF JARUZELSKI REPORTED

[Editorial Report] Vienna KURIER in German on 2 December, page 3, carries a 600-word report by "W.B." asserting that political tensions in Poland are constantly mounting, with impending meat ration cuts and price increases adding fuel to the fire. According to the paper, party and government chief Jaruzelski has sent a "secret letter" to functionaries warning them against outbursts of anger among the people. After citing a PAP report on meat rationing and a TRYBUNA LUDU report on a public opinion poll showing 77 percent of the citizens to be against the planned food price increases, the paper says:

"Small wonder that the chief of the Polish Council of Ministers, on behalf of Jaruzelski, has issued a circular to PZPR functionaries, ministers, voivodas, and central authorities. In this circular, attention is drawn to the 'increase in public discontent,' the sociopolitical situation is assessed as 'dangerous,' and the order is issued to postpone all 'unpopular decisions' and to also 'avoid conflicts with members of the church.' Only in this manner can a further increase in the people's anger be prevented and the crisis be contained, the circular says.

"However, it seems that it is already too late for that. In the latest issue of the illegal weekly TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE the 'Solidarity' underground leader Zbigniew Bujak writes that because of the price increases there will be 'great protest actions and, what is more, strikes.' He does admit, though, that the banned trade union at present has only a very weak base at the enterprises.

"Workers leader Lech Walesa, who to date has acted very moderately and reservedly, now seems to be giving up his reserve: At a secret meeting with the underground leadership he approved of its conflict strategy, spoke of 'necessary defense measures' for maintaining the living standard, and moreover announced that he would give a speech at the Gdansk workers monument on 16 December."

In conclusion, the report notes that the Polish church is siding with the people in regard to the price increase issue.

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POLAND

IMPACT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS, REFORM ON MILITARY SUPPLY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Oct 83 pp 3,4

[Interview with the general director of the WCH [Army Commercial Center], Commissioned Colonel Edward Godlewski, conducted by Col Waldemar Makowiecki: "Valuable Initiatives in Military Commerce"]

[Text] [Question] The economic crisis and the difficult situation in the domestic market which has been intensifying since 1980 have also affected the military community. This has had a negative effect as well on supplies for Army Commercial Center [WCH] stores, often the only source for accommodating professional personnel, their families and also civilian workers at distant military posts. At times, there was even a shortage of basic foodstuffs and industrial commodities for everyday use. In conjunction with this, the Army Commercial Center was faced with a task of great responsibility.

[Answer] Indeed, it required that we, management and labor in military commerce, develop new ways of operating which would allow for minimizing the consequences of the crisis in an effective manner. This was associated with assuming a major responsibility for supplying the entire military community with basic goods. This was provoked by a need to intensify efforts in increasing deliveries of mass goods, and also the development of marketing and service networks particularly in large urban centers where supply difficulties were greatest and where there were few WCH posts.

In these difficult and complicated conditions many procedural and organizational changes have been made which serve to adapt military commerce to the needs of military consumers. At the same time, intensive efforts have been made for additional purchases from sources outside the wholesale market, that is, directly from the producers. Among the ventures undertaken, the increased assortment of goods sold by the WCH stores is worth noting. We might mention ready-to-wear clothing, furniture, household supplies, and the like.

The acquisition of mass goods from all accessible sources, major industry and cooperatives, military mess hall trades as well as military farms, became the all-important task at the time. Also, there was an increase in our own production of prepared foods and consumer production of articles of clothing, especially for children and young people.

Likewise, a fair and socially acceptable system for a well proportioned division of goods according to garrisons was introduced, as well as rules for their sale under the supervision of public welfare commissions of a given center. At the same time, the trade apparatus and public control units watched over compliance with the agreements which at the initial stages intended to regulate the sale of scarce goods to individuals authorized to buy in the WCH commercial network.

[Question] As numerous facts attest, there is a gradual movement away from a system of central purchasing and distribution as well as controlled sales of those goods which satisfy market demands as the market situation in the country improves.

[Answer] Why, the WCH's policy of supply and sales rules are also adapted to the changing supply of goods and rising demand within the military community. We have partially moved away from a controlled system of sales, coming out with many articles into an open network which will accelerate the movement of goods significantly. As before, the primary goal of military commercial activities will be due satisfaction of military consumers' needs and, in keeping with this, major efforts will be directed toward increasing deliveries of those goods the supply of which does not satisfy demand in the general market place.

As a result of a gradual though still insufficient supply of goods and growth in the efficiency of shopkeepers, the stocking of WCH stores and canteens is improving. A particularly obvious improvement occurred in the sphere of supply of foodstuffs and personal hygiene products which are already found in the open market. After all, guaranteeing two razor blades, a tube of toothpaste or shaving cream was still a problem in 1981. Also, there is an improvement in the supply of articles such as clothing, underwear, shoes, furniture, household supplies, and the like, even though deliveries here continue to be significantly smaller than needs. In keeping with rules in force, young married couples have top priority in buying furniture and articles for outfitting apartments.

[Question] The present is a time for making stores for winter. What has the WCH done and what is it doing in this matter?

[Answer] Multidirectional activities were developed with the thought of supplying military clients as best as possible. Efforts have been made with the aim of changing lines in the way of assortment of goods at our posts from the point of view of fall-winter needs, i.e., clothing, shoes and underwear. Sufficient stores of agricultural products were collected for the fall-winter season, among other things the gathering of fruits and vegetables from owners of private garden plots. Their standing compared to the same time last year comes to: potatoes 116 percent, vegetables 110 percent, and fruit 104 percent.

Thanks to agreements made with the chiefs of the Provisions Services of the Polish Army Main Quartermaster's Corps as well as taking advantage of

the capabilities of our own establishments, a 10 percent increase in pastry deliveries and a 15 percent increase in processed foods will be assured. What is more, the contracts made allow for maintaining a continuous sale of candies and also non-perishable pastries, fruits as well as many manufactured articles in the military canteens.

[Question] At times, one can come across the opinion that the military community is better supplied than the rest of society.

[Answer] Such an opinion could not be more mistaken. Military commerce has no privileges and the satisfaction of military clients is a result above all of engaging WCH workers in finding new additional sources for the supply of goods, and their fair distribution. Thanks to public inspection and effective official supervision in military commerce, such phenomena as favoritism, bribery and speculation are checked successfully.

[Question] One of the undertakings with the view of diminishing supply difficulties was the expansion of one's own production organization and processing, especially clothing for children and young people.

[Answer] Indeed. Meeting public demand half-way, military commerce decided on a substantial increase in production of those products in a system in which the producer is both supplier and consumer, reserving the products for our own retail stores and consequently improving supplies for the military community which is being served. Thus, appropriate efforts were made with the object of acquiring necessary auxiliary fabrics and materials as well as developing networks of production factories and distribution centers. Also, there was an increase in the employment of individuals in cottage industry using primarily members of military families living for the most part in distant garrisons.

As a result of these and other measures, more than 520,000 various articles for children and young people will be manufactured during the current year. Those include such sought-after clothing and garments as school aprons, robes, underwear, bed linens, infant wear, and the like.

Apart from production of the general market sort, the WCH factories manufacture many articles for the needs of the army such as hospital clothes for the ill and for medical personnel, protective clothing for kitchen and mess hall staff, work clothes, and the like. This permits the release of a part of key industrial production strength for use in increasing the production of other goods in demand in the market place. Goals for the total production plan for the current year were higher by 36 percent as compared with 1982. Results so far indicate that they can be surpassed.

Besides, the WCH intends to continue to develop its production activity in the near future. The starting of subsequent consumer run production factories is planned. Moreover, at all garrisons where at least 10 people express a desire to take part in a cottage industry, new distribution

centers will be organized where patterns will be delivered and finished articles collected. The WCH is in a position to help members of ORW [Organization of Military Families] in acquiring sewing machines with the condition that they accept employment in cottage industry, of course.

[Question] There are signs we have been made aware of which indicate that management of enterprises and divisions are showing a good deal of valuable inventiveness--in various areas of activity at that.

[Answer] Very much so. We might just take into consideration fairs and non-store sales. In just the first half of this year many furniture fairs were organized in particular garrisons, very often delivering furniture directly from the purveyor, avoiding our own stores. Mail order sales of articles for uniform upkeep was renewed by the WCH wholesale trade enterprise in Warsaw. Also positively evaluated were initiatives in the way of clothing and shoe sales for soldiers in the Regular Army going into the Reserves (the value of articles being offered is estimated to be around 450,000,000 zł). Efforts are being made with the object of organizing sales of articles needed for repairing and refurbishing apartments, such as wallpaper, paste, emulsives and oil paints, solvents and lacquers.

If we are to speak of WCH service activities, then at this point I should like to pass on the information that at present we are conducting a detailed inventory and analysis of service needs in individual garrisons as well as evaluating our ability to satisfy these needs. A result of this is the introduction of new plants and service centers rendering, among others, services such as the repair of radios, televisions, and mechanized household equipment. Likewise, according to agency rules, we readily employ military reservists in service-oriented jobs.

Guided by a well understood concern for the best satisfaction of the military community's needs, for the quality of goods delivered, courtesy of salespeople and the sanitary and hygienic condition of stores and canteens, competition between WCH enterprises and divisions was expanded, as well as interdepartmental competition for the title of leading trade and production-service establishment. After an evaluation of tasks for the first half-year, it appears that the majority of WCH enterprises and divisions are fulfilling them successfully as well as gaining favorable effects in a material and financial way. Divisions in Rzeszow and Krakow, as well as the regional enterprise in Bydgoszcz, belong to the leaders in this group.

In the course of the next 2 years, military commerce will be improving the existing organizational structures and will carry out necessary changes in the systems in operation at present. This is dictated by the changing market situation and the institution of rules for economic reform.

Likewise, steps have been taken toward having salaries depend on results attained. A commission system of remuneration was already introduced experimentally in a few chosen military canteens.

[Question] Perhaps a few words in the way of commentary on the topic of directions and rules for economic reform in WCH enterprises.

[Answer] Parallel to the method and organizational changes mentioned earlier, economic reform is being introduced in military commerce as it is in the entire economy. The principle of enterprise self-financing was introduced while employment limits and salary funds were lowered. The basic indicator of activity, profit, is being achieved in enterprises of military commerce, together with the fulfillment of proposed social goals, in conjunction with the accommodation of clients. Workers' self-government has been established this year and a salary regulation has been introduced according to rules generally in force in the country. Divisional responsibility for economic results is being increased.

We are aware that though in the period just past military commerce did not always entirely satisfy the essential needs of the military community, still it did diminish supply troubles considerably. Besides, all the things we do are done so that the efficiency and effort in acquiring the greatest number of attractive goods and goods sought after by military clients bring ever better and more obvious effects.

We believe that by having such a multitude of workers in military commerce, knowing their earnestness, devotion and involvement in work as well as feeling of obligation resulting from the conviction that what they do influences to a great extent the development of social and welfare conditions, and the mood within the military community, we are able to accomplish the tasks set before us.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

12491
CSO: 2600/253

POLAND

FORMER SOLIDARITY ADVISER DESCRIBES STRATEGY

DW060933 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Dec 83 pp 150-166

[Interview with former Solidarity adviser Jan Litynski by unidentified interviewer "in the Warsaw Underground"; date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Litynski, just as your colleagues Kuron and Michnik, you were supposed to have been waiting in prison for your trial as a so-called architect of "Solidarity." How is it that we are able to talk to you in the illegal underground?

Litynski: I was given 5 days leave from prison because of a family celebration. I then decided not to return to prison, and thus joined those who are now hiding from the police.

SPIEGEL: The authorities seem to have been rather generous. Didn't they reckon with the possibility of your flight?

Litynski: Jacek Kuron was given leave from prison after his wife had died. However, Andrzej Gwiazda, a member of the central "Solidarity" leadership, has not been taken to a hospital to this day even though he is seriously ill.

I believe that in my case the authorities wanted to be humanitarian because the announced KOR trial [KOR: Committee for Social Self-Defense] is most inconvenient for them. Moreover, it was shortly before the visit of the pope when the state power wanted to be cooperative in religious matters--my family was celebrating our daughter's first communion. My mother had appealed to Minister of Internal Affairs General Kiszczak, who likes to appear liberal during personal conversations.

SPIEGEL: If the KOR trial is inconvenient for the government, why did it start it?

Litynski: Ask the government. The main charge--that KOR members were preparing to overthrow the system with violence and were working to weaken the defensive strength of the Polish People's Republic--is at any rate so absurd that this trial will become an enormous disgrace for the government. It is simple to show how ridiculous the accusation is as well as to expose the intention behind it, namely pure revenge.

SPIEGEL: The records are made up to 40 volumes, one of which contains articles from DER SPIEGEL. Is all this so much hot air?

Litynski: I have read the records--statements by people who were either agents, or who confessed to what was dictated to them. Some of the contents are lies which can be easily exposed when, for example, witnesses make statements about criminal acts, which we supposedly committed when we were already in prison. However, regarding the main charge, everyone in Poland knows that the KOR Committee's political ideology was directed basically and decidedly against the use of violence.

SPIEGEL: Again, why did the government nevertheless decide to hold the trial?

Litynski: Well, I believe it was simply a grave mistake by the government, particularly when you consider how little popularity the government enjoys among the people and how small a threat to state power this handful of accused people could have represented.

SPIEGEL: Who is then so interested in the trial and is insisting on holding proceedings?

Litynski: Above all, it is a matter of a dozen people answering for the fear with which the state power had to live from August 1980 to December 1981, from the Gdansk agreement with "Solidarity" to General Jaruzelski's coup. In addition, you must not forget that the communist state power views history with the eyes of the police, and that it believes in the absolute possibility of manipulating social processes.

It is probably really convinced that the KOR Committee, and later on the "Solidarity" functionaries, were, like the PZPR, some sort of a political mafia, which was able to organize the August 1980 strikes and then to strive for power. Thus, the court verdict would be aimed at a potential government, as stupid as that sounds.

SPIEGEL: What influence did the KOR Committee really have on "Solidarity"? According to the government, it supplied advisers who have pushed the trade unions into radical positions. For this reason, the army had to act.

Litynski: It can't be denied that a certain radicalism in "Solidarity's" demands sped up the state's reaction. However, the counterstrike had been prepared from the very beginning, since the signing of the Gdansk agreement, and the state leadership--with perhaps a few exceptions--agreed that "Solidarity" must be destroyed. The problem was only how--by gradual absorption into the system or through a final blow.

SPIEGEL: Wasn't the state leadership forced to act by the demand for free elections?

Litynski: As an organization, "Solidarity" was not responsible for that. The state power had made provocations.

SPIEGEL: Can that be proven concretely?

Litynski: I will name just a few examples from many: discontinuation of investigations against those responsible for the police attack against trade union members in Bydgoszcz in March 1981; a false report published during the "Solidarity" congress, according to which the trade union had broken off negotiations with the government; despite several signed agreements, refusal by the state leadership to give the trade union access to the mass media; determined backing for all functionaries who were proven guilty of corruption by "Solidarity"; persistent refusal to permit "Solidarity" to check food storage areas and the distribution of goods.

SPIEGEL: These were possibly just breakdowns which couldn't be avoided during the tense situation at the time.

Litynski: No, everything points to a basically provocative attitude of the government. The state power's refusal to cooperate with the people was itself nothing other than a provocation. Also, the refusal to accept "Solidarity" as a permanent element of political life in Poland was intended as a provocation.

SPIEGEL: A Polish worker, a man from the grassroots of "Solidarity" told us that shortly before 13 December 1981, Jacek Kuron had come to his plant and attempted to explain to the people that the party no longer existed, that the militia was about to dissolve, and that the Soviet Union was totally confused. Such wishful thinking which overrates one's own strengths and underrates those of the enemy could have contributed to "Solidarity's" defeat.

Litynski: I did not share the assessment of the situation you attribute to Jacek Kuron. I was convinced--the appropriate evidence is contained in the public prosecutor's files--that the military and the police represent a force which can always act effectively.

However, all of us, including many of the moderate "Solidarity" advisers, were convinced that this movement was so strong that nobody could harm it in any way. We even thought that imposing what we then called a state of emergency would meet with such massive social resistance that the state leadership would be forced to retreat.

SPIEGEL: You overrated the preparedness for a general strike and underrated the danger of martial law.

Litynski: Well, a state of emergency existed in Poland for more than 30 years until 31 August 1980, when it turned out that they couldn't continue to rule under a state of emergency.

SPIEGEL: It turned out 16 months later that they could.

Litynski: Our error was a result of the weaknesses of "Solidarity" and of the inability to create prerequisites to implement our own demands or to adapt these demands to existing possibilities.

SPIEGEL: For example the free elections...

Litynski: ...to national councils on a local level and in the voivodships. However, this was actually nothing other than a demand for a normally functioning independent local administration. However, "Solidarity" and society were not prepared for that--there was no program and no clear concept of what an independent territorial administration should look like. It was a premature demand which met with a hysterical mood among the people which were against the government because of the supply situation.

Perhaps--and this sounds today like crying over spilled milk--the "Solidarity" leadership should have said at that time in October 1981 that an end must be made to the demands and to the strikes and threats to strike. The trade union should have instead offered to constructively cooperate with the government, at least for a few months.

SPIEGEL: At that time, next to the church, "Solidarity" was the only force in the country which the people listened to.

Litynski: At a session of a "Solidarity" regional commission, one of the advisers proposed that the trade union demand free parliamentary elections. The proposal was rejected by an overwhelming majority of those present. Yet, later on it became an element of the "Solidarity" program. This example is very typical of the mood at that time....

SPIEGEL: Wasn't this mood also the fault of the "Solidarity" leadership?

Litynski: Perhaps to some extent. However, the main reason was the general provocation by the state power.

SPIEGEL: Were all options for action exploited at the time? Lech Walesa recently admitted that no attempt was made to establish formal or informal contacts with representatives of other East Bloc countries so as to remove prejudices toward "Solidarity." He said no one ever responded to invitations to receptions or talks.

Litynski: None of us "Solidarity" functionaries correctly understood the mood at the time which led to an increasing aggravation of the situation. We were simply convinced of "Solidarity's" enormous strength. If we had expected the state power to strike, a workers self-defense organization would perhaps have been set up. When the state power used its armed forces, "Solidarity" proved to be completely helpless. The government knew it.

"Solidarity" was in control of the plants where 80-90 percent of the personnel belonged to its ranks. However, on the local level, such as the organization of independent committees in various sections of the cities, hardly anything was done. The rate of acceleration in the political field was too great. If we had been able to survive through that winter, our movement would probably have grown stronger.

SPIEGEL: So, "Solidarity" was unable to keep control of the mass movement it had begun.

Litynski: This movement could have been brought under control if new tasks had been set. By developing in that way the dangerous one-track demands could have been avoided. However, the "Solidarity" leadership unfortunately wasn't able to do that.

SPIEGEL: This became clear in March 1981 when secret service men broke up a session of the National Council in Bydgoszcz and beat up a group of trade union activists.

Litynski: The trade union leadership reacted to the government with rather far-reaching demands and with a threat to call a general strike. The government was prepared to make some concessions, which were considered insufficient by the vast majority of trade union members. Nevertheless, the trade union made an agreement with the government, and the strike the people were prepared to hold was called off--because it could have led to Soviet intervention. After all, Soviet troops were actually very close to the border.

SPIEGEL: Most Poles were convinced that this was just an attempt to intimidate.

Litynski: At any rate, it became clear at the time that the general strike weapon could not be used because of the threatening Russian intervention. Thus, the trade union lost the opportunity to attach importance to its demands to the government. The agreement with the government in March undermined the morale of the trade union because it was considered to be capitulation. Yet, further new demands were made during the wave of radicalization at the time--demands with no chance of being implemented.

SPIEGEL: There was, for example, the message of solidarity to the working people of East Europe which was adopted at the trade union congress in Gdansk in the fall of 1981. Mr Litynski, you were one of these who drafted the text.

Litynski: In the editorial sense. "Solidarity" delegates from the Kalisz region came to me and asked me to draft such an appeal. The document was then adopted almost unanimously by the congress.

SPIEGEL: Walesa said this was not a political but a moral act....

Litynski: ...of great importance to most "Solidarity" members. However, the appeal was not meant to be an action program for the establishment of independent trade unions in East Europe. It was meant to demonstrate, among other things, what /solidarity/ [word in slantlines in italics] is. I do not consider this was a mistake; however, I do admit that it was unreasonable with a view to the Soviet Union.

The matter certainly did not contribute to later events, such as the radicalization process within "Solidarity" and, most of all, Jaruzelski's "martial law." It was a tactical, but not a strategic, error. It was not always easy to make the right decisions; the situation was constantly changing, which made it almost impossible to develop a concept of some sort of consistent action.

SPIEGEL: There were, after all, a central leadership body, the regional commission as well as regional leadership bodies, conferences and talks which were supposed to adapt all decisions to the current situation.

Litynski: There was no uniform "Solidarity" leadership and none was possible. "Solidarity" was the first social movement in history which in implementing its goals was simultaneously forced to face a ruthless adversary who, as it turned out, was quite able to strike.

SPIEGEL: Mr Litynski, you knew this adversary--you and your fellow strugglers grew up with him in the same country. You had enough time to adjust to his characteristics. Why were you surprised by his ruthlessness and ability to strike?

Litynski: "Solidarity" was not created to struggle against the system; its aim was not destruction, but the establishment of a democratic social system that could administer itself.

SPIEGEL: In this connection, did you overrate the possibility of reforming the system? "Solidarity" was fighting very sharply against its enemy, the government camp, while still believing that the enemy would not use force against "Solidarity."

Litynski: Yes, but not because we believed in the good will of the state leadership, but because we overrated our own strength. That was the mistake.

The system is not absolutely unable to be subjected to reform. It is just unable to change itself. This must happen through outside pressure. "Solidarity's political idea remains valid, that is, the concept of a situation where the totalitarian state power will be forced to give in. The way of "Solidarity" was correct; it was the only possible way.

SPIEGEL: Why, then, was resistance to the imposition of martial law so weak? Because the trade union leadership had not made preparations? Or was there no support from the grassroots which gave in right away for the most part? Adam Michnik even said that passiveness was the only rational reaction: in this way, he said, the state power's strike was a blow in the air, and some of the trade union structures could be saved for the future.

Litynski: Michnik's views contain a lot of wishful thinking. It is true that we must ensure the further existence of the movement for an independent social life; it is true that if "Solidarity" had offered stronger

resistance, it would have been destroyed. Because it was flexible, it was able to survive, although with all the current restrictions.

Yet, it is a fact that everyone without an exception was surprised when it transpired after 13 December how easily strikes could be stopped. That was our defeat.

SPIEGEL: Otherwise there would have been much more human sacrifices...

Litynski: Our side remained free of violence--according to our program. The trade union leaders failed because they were not prepared for the attack, because they deluded themselves and the basis in hoping to emerge from such a confrontation as the winner, eventually they failed because they did not manage to organize effective strikes.

The masses of members failed because they did not take part in these poorly organized strikes. All this must be said, for otherwise we will never understand what had happened.

SPIEGEL: If "Solidarity" will continue to exist, it will not be any more an organization of 10 million people. It has shrunk to a handful of professional revolutionaries as at the time when you, Mr Litynski, issued the journal ROBOTNIK, prior to the existence of "Solidarity"--to make it would come into existence some day.

Litynski: "Solidarity" continues to exist as a trade union of 10 million people because it continues to exist in the awareness of the people, as Archbishop Gulbinowicz said, and because the vast majority of its members does not want to renounce its existence. At any opportunity that will offer itself--the time cannot be foreseen--"Solidarity" will be ready for rebirth.

SPIEGEL: And what exists of it today?

Litynski: A group of active trade unionists which is by no means so small as many think and which can work only because it has an incredibly broad--and not only moral--support among the people. The underground "Solidarity" managed to evade the danger of its ideas being controlled by a handful of professional revolutionaries. Professional revolutionaries are unable to represent anything but themselves, even if they claim to be speaking on behalf of the entire society.

SPIEGEL: However, time is working against "Solidarity." More and more people join the new trade unions, and the state leadership says that the situation is normalizing.

Litynski: Prior to martial law the government said that 4 million workers were organized in its trade unions which are loyal to the government line. Today, however, 1 year after the establishment of the new plant trade unions, the number of its members is said to be somewhat more than 3 million. Assuming that the figures are correct, it means that in 2 years the state leadership could not regain its basis.

If the opposition succeeded to stand its ground and to safeguard the support of the broad majority of the populace also in the long run, this lasting social resistance could force the state power to make concessions, concessions in the direction of an open self-administration of the society. Should we not succeed to do that, we would have lost. Should we not believe that we will succeed, we would have lost already.

SPIEGEL: What aims has "Solidarity" set for itself in the underground for the next months?

Litynski: The provisional coordination commission in the underground has named two conditions for its self-dissolution: Trade union pluralism on the level of plants with the renunciation of central and regional "Solidarity" structures, and release of all political prisoners. That is not a radical program: Poland as a country without political prisoners, with free and independent trade unions in the plants.

The statement of the coordination commission on the issue of elections is also reasonable and moderate in its form: It does not demand free elections, it only announces that elections in the current term will be boycotted by the populace. We will also undertake something in view of the latest price increases for food, through which a great part of the populace has come close to the limit of hunger.

SPIEGEL: Do you also have the church on your side?

Litynski: "Solidarity" is deeply rooted in the Polish national tradition which is inseparable from Catholic values. The whole "Solidarity" ideology emanates from the values of Christianity, of Catholicism. As a whole, however, the trade union has always considered itself as autonomous with regard to the church. The church never seemed to be particularly eager to subordinate the movement to itself.

SPIEGEL: Does that also apply to the head of the church, Glemp?

Litynski: If Cardinal-Primate Glemp comments on political issues, where he is exposed to criticism as anybody else, some of his statements can be irritating because of their clumsiness and also unpleasing. Statements of individual bishops must not be in accordance with the policy of the provisional coordination commission of "Solidarity."

SPIEGEL: The name "Solidarity" has not been publicly voiced for a long time by the primate...

Litynski: ...for tactical reasons. If we sometimes criticize Glemp's policy, we are more concerned by its symptoms rather than by the idea contained in this policy.

SPIEGEL: It was said in a Polish underground paper that Primate Glemp's policy was favorable to communist normalization.

Litynski: Total nonsense. The political line represented by Prime Glemp consists in not letting the thread of talks disrupt between the church and the government. This is, as I find, a right line. Without the church "Solidarity" would not have existed, neither the "Solidarity" prior to 13 December, nor that of today, and this is what is most important.

SPIEGEL: Can the government stabilize the economy of the country and maneuver Poland out of the crisis?

Litynski: The economic scientists I have talked to say that the government's economic program is totally senseless.

SPIEGEL: Will the government find fellow-workers for its new political, trade union, and cultural organizations?

Litynski: Hardly. A certain number of members will be found for everyone of the newly established organizations, some have already reported. However, there will be very few really active people who will really act for the official policy. These artificially established organizations loyal to the government are by nature unstable and will fall apart at the next opportunity. The government can corrupt some people, but it cannot convince them. Insofar I see no chances for the government to achieve a normalization.

SPIEGEL: The plant trade unions will take care of the material needs of the personnel.

Litynski: I consider that as possible, but unrealistic with regard to the aims. One cannot rely on such a restrictedly reformed communist system: all hopes of the Poles have been destroyed. One can even read statements of people in official sources, saying that never in their lives have they felt as humiliated and mortified as then.

SPIEGEL: However, Jaruzelski's struggle against corruption will certainly find a positive echo.

Litynski: Hardly, the government must rely on people with a broken morale whose cooperation has the character of collaboration according to their own feelings, and particularly according to the opinion of their compatriots. The intention of the new organizations loyal to the government line thus already contains the germ of corruption, theft, and fraud.

If there should be people among the members of the new trade unions who consider their actions as correct, this mechanism alone will press them in the direction of corruption, cliquishness, and nepotism--which would be at best a new issue of the corruption era under Edward Gierek.

SPIEGEL: In the underground such papers appear as the very radical NIEPODLEGLOSC (Independence) or GLOS (The Voice) which criticize the current "Solidarity" line. Must you reckon with terrorist actions?

Litynski: They can only play a secondary role at best.

SPIEGEL: Why are you so certain?

Litynski: Because the "Solidarity" ideas are too popular among the people. There is no space for radical alternatives.

SPIEGEL: For 2 years discussions, analyzations, and publications are going on underground, but nobody had offered something new so far.

Litynski: I don't know either. There appear many new and stupid "independence immediately" declarations or predictions of World War II or the falling apart of the East Bloc, but this is of no use for the democratic opposition. As long as we do not have a new and reasonable action program, we must stick with what we have, namely the old "Solidarity" program, the only program that can be considered today as being realistic.

SPIEGEL: Realistic? Today?

Litynski: I do not mean the possibility of its quick implementation, but the fact that it is the only program which is being accepted by the vast majority of the populace. It is now not a matter of reforming the communist system, the problem is under what conditions the process of its decline will take place, which will certainly take many years.

SPIEGEL: What do you expect from the West?

Litynski: The approach of the West in the past years was a positive surprise for the people in East Europe. Western support of what I call decent life in states under a totalitarian rule, is considered by me as the most important form of help. If the democracies will act for the implementation of the Helsinki regulations, for adherence to human and civil rights in all countries, they will meet our expectations.

SPIEGEL: The fact remains that Poland lies in the Soviet zone of interests, and that the Soviet Union will not admit any radical changes at the Wisla because it fears destabilization of its sphere of influence.

Litynski: "Solidarity" never intended to lead Poland out of the Warsaw Pact and to upset the balance in Europe. However, who has the right to tell the Poles that they may not feel to be human beings, that they may not struggle for their human rights, only because Andropov or whoever feels endangered by that?

SPIEGEL: "Solidarity" was also charged by Western trade unions of being unrealistic in a way which could endanger world peace.

Litynski: The so-called programmed constant preparedness to accept the respective status quo is a very shortsighted realism. It has its followers also in Poland, such as have those journalists who recruit members for the "Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth." That has little to do with real politics.

SPIEGEL: However, the Soviet Union will always prefer to rely on a strong Communist Party in Poland. It would have to consider every restriction of the power of this party as a weakening of the Soviet power position.

Litynski: One could equally say that the Soviet Union will always prefer to use Stalinist government methods rather than those of Khrushchev. It would always prefer to see Poland rather as one of its Soviet republics or colonies than as a state which is the subject of international law. However, there are limits also to the Soviet will. After all, the Soviet Union has not annexed Poland after war end in contrast to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Stalin has made this decision not out of good will, but because he feared that an annexation of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary would lead to the deterioration of his empire.

The collapse of Stalinism was also not an act of the Soviet will with regard to progress; for the old Moscow rulers the old and tested government methods are certainly more convenient. The decisive matter is the respective and real balance of power. Why should we assume that the current balance of power would last forever? This would be a way of thinking which I term pseudorealism.

SPIEGEL: Party Chief Gomulka already had stated that the leading role of his party corresponds to the Polish reason of state; without the Polish Communists, Poland never would have regained the former Western areas, as he called them. Poland would have had to vegetate as a torso of a state--without its lost eastern territories and without its western territories--such as the former duchy of Warsaw. General Jaruzelski said something like that. Do you rule out the possibility that by imposing martial law Jaruzelski had accepted the smaller evil, thus saving Poland?

Litynski: I suppose that Gomulka and Jaruzelski were honest in this respect. Even more, there is some truth in this statement, inasmuch as at the given moment Poland's reason of state is undoubtedly the reason of its rulers. When the Communists had taken over in Poland, they identified the interests of the state with their own interests.

However, one could have very well imagined something else: If the Communists in 1945 were prepared to really cooperate with independent parties, most of all with the Polish People's Party (PSL), the situation in Eastern Europe could have developed completely differently. The situation would also be completely different had General Jaruzelski not aimed at the destruction of "Solidarity" but at cooperation with this trade union.

SPIEGEL: Had Jaruzelski another choice in view of the chaos and the danger of intervention?

Litynski: I fail to see why Communists should be unable to cooperate with the rest of the people. If they will not make up their mind to do that, it will not be because of political fatalism, it will be their own free decision.

SPIEGEL: Mr Litynski, we thank you for this talk.

CSO: 2300/198

POLAND

POPE SENDS MESSAGE OF THANKS TO JABLONSKI

AU281235 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18-20 Nov 83

[Message from Pope John Paul II to Professor Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PPR State Council, in Warsaw]

[Text] I wish to express my cordial thanks that you, Professor, sent me on behalf of the Polish nation, the PPR authorities, and on your own behalf on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of my service to the Universal Church. I have received your wishes in the conviction that the most extensively conceived good of man will continue to be the concern of all the citizens in my fatherland. At the same time, I continue to trust that comprehensive cooperation in the spirit of genuine dialogue, brotherly love, and mutual confidence will enable all the Poles to enjoy all the safeguards of human rights and the rights that result from our nation's historical community. In this connection I would like to express the wish that the efforts to promote the common good and permanent social order always go hand in hand with the awareness that peace is the supreme good for the Polish nation and all nations.

In this spirit I ask you to accept the attached collection of my speeches and homilies during the second apostolic travels in my fatherland.

With expressions of sincere esteem, John Paul II.
The Vatican, 9 November 1983.

CSO: 2600/401

POLAND

WALESA NOBEL PRIZE STATEMENT REPORTED

LD101613 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 10 Dec 83

[Text] Oslo: At 1300 today, in the Norwegian capital of Oslo, a solemn ceremony was held at which the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the Polish prize winner, Lech Walesa, chairman of the outlawed Solidarity. Mrs Danuta Walesa received a gold medal and a diploma on behalf of her husband. To mark the occasion she read a short statement written by Lech Walesa.

In the statement the Solidarity leader expresses the joy and the never-extinguished hope of millions of working people in offices and factories assembled within the union whose name expresses one of the noblest aspirations of humanity. Along with myself, Lech Walesa writes, they all feel tremendously honored by the prize. I think with sorrow of those who paid with their lives for their loyalty to Solidarity, and of those who are in prison, the victims of repression.

Recalling that this was the first time a Pole has received the Nobel Peace Prize, awarded for activity aimed at bringing the nations closer together, Lech Walesa stresses the ardent hopes of Poles connected with this idea, despite the violence, cruelty and brutality that are tearing the modern world apart.

We desire peace, Walesa goes on to say, and that is why we have never resorted to physical force. We ardently desire justice and that is why we fight so doggedly for our rights. We seek freedom of one's convictions, and that is why we have never tried to enslave the human conscience and will never attempt to do so in the future. We are fighting for the workers' right to organize themselves and for the dignity of human labor. We respect the dignity and the rights of every man and every nation. The road to a brighter future for the world leads through an honorable reconciliation of contradictory interests, not through hatred and bloodshed. To follow that road is to consolidate the moral power of the idea of human solidarity.

At the end of his declaration, Lech Walesa expressed his profound gratitude to representatives of the Norwegian people for having, through awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to the leader of Solidarity, given proof of the vitality and strength of the idea it represents.

CSO: 2600/394

POLAND

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES CAR FACTORY PZPR COMMITTEE

AU061358 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2-4 Dec 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] PAP--On 1 December at the small-capacity car factory in Bielsko-Biala, a report-back and electoral conference of the factory PZPR committee took place with the participation of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

In his speech, M. Rakowski discussed the country's political-economic situation and the international factors influencing it, devoting special attention to party matters. We are noting positive changes in the process of strengthening the party's authority, he said. He spoke about the need for a dedicated and energetic attitude by every PZPR member and the need to oppose the deliberate spreading of unrest, foolish gossip, myths, and indifferent attitudes.

We are facing an opponent who cannot be ignored, M. Rakowski said. He is waging fierce battle on many fronts. This is a domestic opponent and a foreign one. Each part is supporting the other. Their main purpose: Poland should become an unstable and turbulent country. That is the intention of the anticommunists in Washington and everywhere else. Day after day the minds of Poles are being fiercely attacked by reports meant to confirm the idea that Poland cannot emerge from the crisis and that the authorities are incapable of running the country during such a difficult period.

There are nations capable of separating what is important from what is unimportant, of correctly perceiving supreme interests, and of differentiating between temporary values and permanent, supreme ones. Unfortunately, and not for the first time in Polish history, we have people who place their own wanton personal ambitions before national interests. Such an attitude is antipatriotic. These people lie when they are fighting for Poland's real national interests.

It is a great pity, the deputy premier said, that there are also workers and working people who place their faith in those calling for a slow work pace and for a neglect of duties. Heeding these people brings nothing in the long run, and leads nowhere except to imprisonment inside one's own dissatisfaction--sometimes even hatred.

Many people have left the party. Who? Certainly careerists, those who thought it would be worth their while to "change trains." But are these the only kinds of people that left? No. We have also lost comrades who, although not always energetic, were good and honest and who regarded themselves as good patriots, which they probably were. They left for various reasons, sometimes under the influence of emotion and sometimes because of bad advice. They left because they grew doubtful under the stormy attacks of the extremists and opponents of socialism who built themselves a nest inside Solidarity and cynically exploited the confidence which had been vested by many workers in the new union as it was being formed in the fall of 1980.

We must not be ill-disposed toward these people, nor even indifferent, M. Rakowski stressed. They are also contributing toward the building of our fatherland. The point is that they should perform this work with faith and with the conviction that socialism is our future and the future of the world, and that being at odds with socialism and with our party is a barren attitude which in the end can only cause bitterness. Of course, we must know how to spot people who are hiding behind masks. We must get through to the first category of people and regain them. This is our duty.

CSO: 2600/395

POLAND

MINISTER SPEAKS ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONDITIONS

AU011152 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Interview given by Andrezej Ornat, minister for youth affairs, to PAP reporter Adolf Reut: "Guaranteeing a Better Start"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Reut] People ask here and there whether with such a difficult economic situation for the country we can afford to fully satisfy the needs of young people, whether justified or not, to say nothing of the needs of other groups.

[Ornat] Discussions and disputes on this topic are still appearing. But they concern, above all, the method and rate of implementing the long-term comprehensive government program on young people. The idea and purpose of this program has not been and is not being queried by most of society. It was born out of an objective analysis of demands voiced concerning the development of the young generation, which today forms half of our nation. The program is the result of the instructions contained in the Ninth Party Congress resolution, confirmed by the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

We have a great deal of evidence at our disposal showing that we are increasingly winning over people's minds to the cause of young people and to the persistent implementation of certain points of the government program.

In many areas, definite legal and material conditions have been created to successively solve some of the most vital social and professional problems of young people. For example, we have guaranteed all graduates conditions for further study and employment, we have increased political and material guarantees for the development of socialist youth unions, we have issued rules giving financial preference to young people who build themselves housing accommodations or work in agriculture, and guaranteed proper facilities for recreation, sports, and tourism.

These and other actions have had a considerable influence on creating a better climate for sociopolitical and professional activity by young people, and have become a base for a positive evolution of young people's attitudes and conduct.

Nevertheless, the government has recognized that some systemic solutions are not being implemented energetically enough in the field, or are not being sufficiently made use of by young people themselves. There are also tasks, for example, concerning changes in cadre and wages policy and housing construction, which have to be speeded up. We mean changes in practice, and not just in principles.

On the basis of such a result and assessment, the government has recently issued "The Government Presidium's Guidelines Concerning the Further Implementation of the Government Youth Program."

[Reut] Could you please describe these "Guidelines"?

[Ornat] They are based on the achievements and experiences gained to date. Bearing in mind the fact that the main tasks contained in the government program have been reflected in the activity of the appropriate administrative bodies, institutions, work places, and youth organizations, the Government Presidium has recognized it as a priority to undertake action right now aimed at deepening the processes of patriotic and socialist education by all educational bodies, speeding up the advancement of young people in social and professional life, and actively involving young people in the sociopolitical activity of work places and institutions.

[Reut] What concrete tasks for state institutions resulting from the "Guidelines" have to be done in the immediate future?

[Ornat] As we know, the government program consists of five basic parts. The "Guidelines" specify concrete tasks for every institution. Thus, concerning young people's start in life, the minister of education and upbringing has been obligated to introduce this year "the Chief Aims and Tasks of School Educational Work," to see to it that work on a new history textbook for the eighth grade is completed this year, and that current affairs play a more prominent role in the curricula of high schools.

Next year, the Minister of Science, Higher Education, and Technology is to make sure that a uniform curriculum of sociopolitical subjects be introduced to all colleges, and that a long-term program of education through work be conceived and then introduced into the practical life of colleges.

[Reut] But the government and the administrative bodies are not keeping all the tasks for themselves.

[Ornat] That is true. The government appreciates the useful initiatives and activities being undertaken more and more by young people and their socialist unions. The government has placed all bodies and institutions under an obligation to accurately and quickly assess these initiatives and offer assistance in all socially useful undertakings by young people that agree with the state's political goals. State and economic administrative bodies have also been placed under an obligation to actively and fully cooperate with the appropriate institutions of the socialist youth unions.

POLAND

FOUNDRY WORKER ATTACKS 'CLERICALISM'

AU301430 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18-20 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Report by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Confidence Is Forged in Fire"]

[Excerpts] The accountability-election campaign in primary party organizations and plant committee continues. Primary party organization No 4 of the W-45 rolling shop of the Warszawa Foundry has 23 members, of whom 21 were present at the organization's accountability-election meeting.

In his report to the meeting, Comrade Szymon Chybil, the retiring first secretary of the primary party organization, said among other things: "The dramatic clashes are behind us, but the most difficult tasks are still in front of us. The adversary has not laid down his arms. The party has gone through extremely difficult trials. The shocks occasioned by the crisis and the attacks of the counterrevolutionary forces have thrown an unprecedentedly glaring light on the state of the party and the maturity of the aktiws. We must act in such a way that all the other shops know and recognize that we are at the head. The party should be where its members are."

"Foundry workers continue to be afraid that they are considered lemons to be squeezed. When the juice is out they can be thrown away. Our retirement age is 60, but who is able to live to 60 if he works in sweltering shops like ours and makes such exhausting efforts by the sweat of his brow?"

"The common laborers-communists who have done so much for People's Poland are another problem. I have in mind Stanislaw Grudzien who worked over 40 years at blast furnaces, was awarded the Labor Banner and the Banner of the Builder of People's Poland, fought as a partisan, but is paid his pension under the old scheme. We had to find him a job as a school janitor because he did not have enough to live on."

"Comrade Stanislaw Borynski's funeral took place without the party banner! He was a member of the executive body of the plant committee of our foundry, was awarded the Labor Banner, and was murdered by political bandits in a wood during martial law. Before he died he asked for a party funeral. His son came to the foundry and backed this request, but the funeral took place without the party banner and the band! Party authorities here have

been replaced by young people. They did not attend the funeral....We, his colleagues, did. This incident hurt me because I have been a party member for 32 years now."

Another speaker from the floor was Comrade Wlodzimierz Gawin, a worker: "We know that it is necessary to increase the party's militancy, but... There is a but. All of us who live in Zoliborz [district in Warsaw] know that a plot of land near the Olszynka wood was fenced off last spring. Later on a cross was erected on that plot and now a major religious structure is under construction. It is a large plot, and probably its trees will be cut down. At the same time, there is a universal shortage of nurseries, day centers for children, hospitals, and apartments. We could do with such facilities in Warsaw and in other cities. How can you talk about party militancy when clericalism is beginning to weigh us down and when in the name of 'national unity' our party press devotes little space to honest articles explaining the nature of such phenomena?"

"And what about going around our foundry? You would have to have extra fingers and toes to be able to count all the rooms in this foundry in which crosses hang on the walls. They also hang in the canteens, which are used at times for party meetings. It would be interesting to know whether these crosses are taken down for the duration of party meetings. This happens in our shop...."

Comrade Musiol: "Just a minute. Enough of your generalizations. Give us concrete examples. Where are those crosses?"

Comrade Gawin: "Let us go downstairs to the water room and the repair shop. This is what I can tell you right now regarding our shop. Let us also go to the trading outlets and to office rooms."

"Party training is another problem. This year we managed it only once every 3 months. When a delegation of the GDR foundry workers stayed here I told them about our experience and they told me that anyone who wants to become a brigadier, foreman, or shop head in their foundry must undergo normal party training for a year and must be able to account for it. This also applies to nonparty workers. The point is to obtain knowledge of ideology. Perhaps it would be worth pondering this problem here?"

CSO: 2600/399

POLAND

DEFECTS OF YOUTH POLITICAL TRAINING VIEWED

AU281348 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18-20 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Daniel Wojtowicz: "Frankly, Clearly, and Specifically"]

[Excerpts] Political training has always been and continues to be a nightmare for youth organizations, because young people are not at all keen to spend their free time in such a way and take to their heels at top speed as soon as they hear the words "political training." Nevertheless, it is impossible for organizations to abandon such training if only because it is the foundation of ideological-educational work. This puts the activists between the devil and the deep blue sea. Their dreams are unruly.

For many years playing ostrich has been the best method of solving the problem of political training. Playing ostrich is pretending that everything is fine and dandy. Genuine and serious training was probably done only at the higher levels of the organizations--among the mature aktiws who knew that they must train. At lower levels--in circles and boards--training was mostly fiction.

At times political training was recorded merely on paper and at times was replaced by the puzzling formula of training seminars and camps, which would provide a way out of the training situation because there were always enough volunteers to travel to the countryside for free or for ridiculously low fees, even if they had to attend those boring lectures in return. What was worse was that not infrequently there were no lectures at all.

Observing young people's attitudes and conduct between August 1980 and now, one finds it difficult not to ask what has happened to the hundreds and hundreds of millions of "old" zlotys that were spent on seminars, camps, conferences, competitions, meetings, and all other forms of political training. The thing is that all that money seems to have been completely wasted. As for young people themselves, they have paid and continue to pay the highest prices for the shortcomings of their political education.

The evil is not at all the fact that young people have headed most strikes and protests and that they are most critical of our reality. On which score they are quite right. Nor is the negation of the way in which older people think and act an evil. On the contrary, such attitudes are encouraging.

The point is that the enthusiasm, criticism, honesty, and sensitivity of young people and the associated ignorance of history, ideology, politics, and economics make them a group of people who are most susceptible to all kinds of demagogy and manipulation.

How often one can meet with a girl or a boy who defines himself or herself as an enemy of socialism, while proclaiming prosocialist slogans. How often can they be heard to pronounce fantastic theories, not based on the knowledge of science, about the world, Poland's future, the coexistence of the two political systems, and various views of the world. All this is bound to strike fear in us.

It is true that no one has a monopoly on thinking about one's own fatherland. Nor can anyone be certain that one makes no errors in such thinking. Premier Jaruzelski himself has stressed several times that only history will produce the full truth about our times and about the activities of each political force and everyone of us. That is why it would be a bad thing if cliche thinking would be the order to follow in our country. The point is not to make every young person learn by heart a ready system of views and to compel him to say yes to everything.

However, there is a certain number of elementary truths, historical facts, and political rules that must constitute the foundation of every kind of thinking about Poland and its future.

Our young people are without this basic knowledge. The states of spirit such as "hostility," "opposition," and "boycott," which are often ascribed to young people, are in very few cases the result of conscious and considered decisions. On the contrary, they are mostly a way to fill the vacuum created by total negation.

The present times are exceptionally difficult, but we have to live them. Yet most young people are at loggerheads with their fates. What to do, how to act, what to believe in, and to what to dedicate oneself are the questions our generation find difficult to answer.

Youth organizations should give help because helping is the basic reason for their existence, for some time now the activists at all levels and in all cells have continued to ponder what to do to reach their colleagues with specific arguments in order to make their lives easier under these difficult circumstances and to reduce at least partially their bitterness and feelings of senselessness.

This is not an easy task because these activists and the young people in question have still not found a common tongue. One can hear the same statements at meetings and conferences: Young people have no knowledge of Marxism, do not understand our ideology, do not know what socialism is and what capitalism is, and confuse Engels with Englert. The activists agree that this state of affairs must not go on.

For the time being a majority of "normal" girls and boys show no willingness to participate in any talks about politics because they assume in advance that such talks will be boring and stupid. But if these girls and boys are forced to attend such talks, they automatically assume a "no" attitude, and the entire undertaking misfires at once.

Why this great aversion? There are two basic reasons for it. First, our young people are by instinct averse or even hostile to what the "reds" say. This instinct is a result of our country's specific history, the influence of the family and the work milieu, the activities of the Church, and the conscious manipulations by the enemies of socialism.

The propaganda that is unfriendly to socialism has been doing everything for some time now to develop the idea in the minds of the Poles that whatever is bad in Poland is a result of the nature of our system. Unfortunately, this kind of thinking has been firmly entrenched in various sections of our people.

However, mistrust, demagogic, and hostility can be combated with the help of specific and meaningful arguments.

The aversion to political training and to all kinds of talks in youth organizations and outside them about politics may have other causes, perhaps more serious ones.

Young people see nothing interesting in political training itself, which is for them another form of what they went through at school, but a worse form.

Political training carried out by youth organizations has a bad reputation for many reasons, including the one that, no matter whether there is a justification for such a reason, political training is regarded as incomplete, insincere, and divorced from reality. In respect of this the youth organization has to work in quite a different way than the school.

An activist who sets about convincing his colleagues about various issues should above all be convinced of them himself. If he is not then he should resign. Every listener, especially a young listener is extremely sensitive to the authenticity of the words addressed to him.

If we know that young people's general knowledge of the so-called political subjects is feeble, then we should talk to them about basic issues and not about the nature of the dispute between Lenin and Trotzki and about Hegelianism. What we need is simple and clear answers to apparently commonplace questions. For this we need the best experts in the subject, and they must be found.

Discussions in youth organizations must not lead to standardizing one's thinking. They must be genuine discussions. A lecturer or educationist

should not see himself attacked by the class enemy when he hears that someone in the lecture room shouts "I am an anticomunist." He should be stimulated by such a shout to engage in a talk. "Are you an anticomunist? We can have a wonderful talk because my ideas are entirely different from yours. Why are you an anticomunist?"

Specific and meaningful discussions of the present-day world and not forcing certain views on young people should be the nature of the political training in youth organizations. With the help of such discussions a young man or woman should be able to develop individual views about reality. What the activists should do is to ensure that their arguments are stronger and clearer than the arguments of their adversaries.

CSO: 2600/400

POLAND

WARSAW TV REPORTS SURRENDER, ARREST OF ACTIVISTS

LD122212 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Dec 83

[Text] Reports are coming in daily about more people who had committed crimes for political reasons turning themselves in.

Among others, in Bielsko-Biala four members of an organization called the Regional Executive Commission of the sub-beskids region, who had compiled and distributed illegal publications, have given themselves up.

In Lublin, Robert Brzozka, Tadeusz Niziol and Waclaw Wierzchon have given themselves up. All three during the period of martial law cooperated with illegal groups, compiling and distributing anti-state publications and organizing money collections to finance the political underground.

In Olsztyn, Maria Komorowska and Teresa Chuda, who were members of an illegal organization called the White and Red Brigade [Brygada Bialo-Czerwona], have given themselves up.

All those who gave themselves up were released after carrying out the required formalities.

At the same time, intensive proceedings are continuing by the security services against persons who have decided not to cease their illegal activities in the political underground.

Another group of people has been detained and subsequently arrested in accordance with the decision of the Prosecutor's Office. Among others a dozen or so persons have been arrested in Walbrzych. They worked in the broadcasting of programs of the so-called Solidarity radio. The perpetrators used a Swiss-made transmitter.

Three persons have been arrested in Katowice. They printed and distributed illegal publications. Thirteen persons active in the work of the so-called All-Polish Committee of Farmers' Resistance have been arrested in Warsaw, Kielce, Bydgoszcz, and other cities. Persons in hiding since December 1981 who used false identity cards are included among those people.

[Begin recording of speaker identified by screen caption as Jerzy Karpacz, deputy director of the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs] The All-Polish Committee of Farmers' Resistance was a deeply conspiratorial organization. Its new feature was the fact that the organization had connections with the rural milieu. It emerges from the programmatic documents that were seized in the course of the investigation that the committee was an elite organization. It rallied people who were specially selected and determined. There is no hiding the fact that certain ideas that were officially proclaimed in the rural milieu, among private farmers, were used misleadingly. The milieu was deluded by the idea that the organization was to improve the existence of the private farmers of the rural milieu.

As a matter of fact, and this emerges from the materials seized during the course of the investigation, their program of action envisaged very hard, even brutal, methods of action. I shall refer now to the documents. And so we can see in its program that this organization declared for supporting and initiating active self-defense of citizens, which would include workers' strikes, defensive demonstrations and punishing certain persons. It also talked about certain aspirations to take over power in Poland, about appointing shadow cabinets of some kind at various levels. They would be capable of an immediate take-over of the parts of the governing structures in question.

Certain members of the leadership of this group had to take oaths. In the test of the oath there is a sentence: Betrayal of the organization is punishable with death.

Also a structure called the Underground National Martial Tribunal was appointed to try and punish persons who breached the status of civic and personal freedom. [End recording].

The Security Service in Wroclaw has uncovered an illegal organization called the Polish Independent Youth Organization. Five members have been detained. They are pupils of senior classes in secondary schools and first year students at higher educational establishments, who in cooperation with underground structures of former Solidarity printed and distributed illegal publications.

CSO: 2600/392

"trying to organise strikes and blow up a copper mine," it was learned today for Polish dissidents. The disclosure came in the latest number of the clandestine news bulletin WIADOMOSCI (information) dated yesterday and shown to Western journalists today. On 31 August 1982, riots erupted in the copper mining center of Lubin in western Poland and three miners were killed by the security forces. The same news bulletin said the trial would open shortly in Wroclaw of Jozef Pinior, formerly of the banned Solidarity trade union's clandestine national leadership (TKK) who was arrested on 24 May. [Text] [NC281410 Paris AFP in English 1324 GMT 28 Nov 83]

CSO: 2020/42

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